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EFFECTS OF ASIATIC CONDITIONS UPON INTERNATIONAL POLICIES.

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DURING the summer just past, a common insult and the common danger of a great calamity, have forced upon the nations of European civilization the recognition of their solidarity of interest as towards Asia, in so far, that is, as she adheres to her immemorial conservatism, antagonistic to the standards of conduct which we have reached, through an age-long process which is still in continuance.

While, however, the urgency of the present conditions in China,* in which all the great European nations, with ourselves and Japan, have an equal concern, is evident, and constrains the action of the Powers to a common end, if not to concerted action, it is clear enough that only on the surface can there seem to be any departure, other than temporary, from the policy heretofore pursued by each State. In substantial, determinative conditions there has been no change. The outrage of Pekin and the tragedy of the Christian missionaries in China are merely a startling illus-

*These words were first written in early August; but they are allowed to stand as pertinent to the general scope of the paper.

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tration of the possibilities which have all along been known to lurk under the surface; the more certainly because, as a rule, the Oriental, whether nation or individual, does not change. What has happened this year is just as likely, unless fear exercise its constraining force, to recur in the East now as it was a thousand years ago, because the East does not progress.

Despite recent events in China, therefore, and the consequent momentary effect upon national action, there is no necessary change in the considerations which control national policies; because these rest, primarily even, upon permanent conditions, chiefly external to China, and commensurate in extent with the compass of the globe from East to West. For a moment, a common wrong and a common danger have imposed upon the honor of nations the obligation of loyal, concerted action to avenge—not to revenge—the crime, and to exact surety for the future against its recurrence; and for such surety nothing equals condign punishment for the past,—a lively sense, through experience, of disfavors to come in case of repeated offence. While such action is being taken, it becomes the nations—as it would honorable gentlemen or good citizens—to sink political differences in mutual consideration, to cease from the competition of interests, until the common object demanded by the exigency of the moment has been accomplished by the enforcement of just retribution. But when this shall have been done, it will no longer be incumbent upon them to shut their eyes to facts and conditions which have not ceased to exist, and have only been temporarily superseded by circumstances of more immediate concern. It may be profitable, however, not to dismiss the recent past from consideration before first observing that it has taught forcibly that mutual rivalry,—conflict of interest,—though a part of the truth, is but a part; as towards Asia in its present conditions Europe has learned that it has a community of interest, as well as a divergence. That community of interest may be defined as the need of bringing the Asian peoples within the compass of the family of Christian states; not by fetters and bands imposed from without, but by regeneration promoted from within. This principle, in intellectual appreciation and in practical observance, is perfectly compatible with the diligent safeguarding of individual national interest by precautions of whatsoever kind. It looks and works towards a far distant future, in which it sees a goal, directive of a

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general course which, meanwhile, has to be continually accommodated to the exigencies of the passing day.

It is not too much to claim that the Government of the United States, representing the national sovereignty which by our system rests in the great community of individual citizens, has not only recognized, but has in its recent definition of its attitude formulated, in express terms, both of these complementary and superficially contradictory ideas; the obligation of asserting our own rights and protecting our own interests against all comers, and, coincidently therewith, of respecting, not only the Government of China, but the national individuality. It is perfectly consistent with this view of duty to assist both government and people to renew and confirm the national life; not by fussy interference on our part, but by generous sympathy, supplemented only as far as necessary by active support. And this declaration of our government is the more significant, because, while unquestionably elicited by recent occurrences, it expresses as its main motive a purpose of non-interference, guaranteed by the general assent of our people through a long period of past years; to which it adds, by way of qualification, definitions of new duties and policies consequent upon novel conditions which have recently arisen. Herein is found combined, in close approach at least to a due proportion, both the idealism of rational statesmanship, which looks over and beyond the passing hour, joined to the practical capacity that adapts itself readily to the exigencies of the moment; modifying its action by them, as a seaman puts the helm down and goes about when an uncharted shoal appears ahead, resuming his course when he again sees the water clear in the direction he means to follow.

But while all this is true, and of most encouraging omen for the future in that it witnesses to the sagacity of our leadership in the past, it behooves us of the mass, who ultimately confirm or reject, and who therefore control, the action of those in authority, to look particularly to the coincidence and sequence of events during the few momentous years just gone by, in order that, by studying the signs of the times, we may understand at once the opportunities they extend and the consequent obligations they impose. This we owe, not to ourselves only, but to posterity, to which we hold the relation of a trustee to a ward. Our leaders, when a call for action comes, cannot outstrip by very much the recognized wishes of the people; and, if these are to keep abreast

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of conditions, they must be at pains, not merely to comprehend them as they are, but to view them together, and to estimate tendency by indications. There is a double process: the observation of facts and the rational deductions from them,—the data, and the practical conclusions drawn, which fix the broad general lines of national determination. These established, and the support of the nation thus settled, details and daily management may be left to the government, strong before the world in the ascertained backing of its followers. The populace, which all we in the mass are, is often accused of fickleness; it is so, however, not from inherent instability, but because, where ignorance exists, conditions easily assume different appearances, and moods waver with the fleeting impressions thus produced. The remedy for this is solid understanding, obtained by mental toil.

What are the facts, summarily outlined? In the general progress of events it has come to pass, in this closing year of a century, that the commerce of the world,—which implies as a main incident the utilization of the Sea, the chief medium of commerce,—has become the prize for which all the great states of the world are in competition. Some possibly do not expect ever to be leaders, but all either wish a greater share than they now have, or at the least to preserve their present proportion. This includes not only the power to produce,—chiefly an internal question,—but the power to exchange freely throughout as large a section of the world's population as can be reached. In this competition the most of states are, as a matter of policy, unwilling to trust entirely to the operation of what we may call, not quite accurately, "natural forces." The race as hitherto run, or the particular conditions of the more favored nations,—the United States for example, so richly dowered with the raw material of wealth, and with energy to use it,—have resulted in giving some a start which puts the remainder at a disadvantage, if the issue is left to purely commercial causes; to superiority in quantity or quality of production, for instance, or to greater ability of management, either in intelligence or economy. Issues determined in this manner are more solid, but they require longer time than impatience wishes to concede; hence the desire to hasten prosperity by extending territorial control, and reserving to one's self commercial preferences in the regions mastered. This result may be reached either by direct annexation or by preponderant political influence.

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Both these mean, ultimately, physical force, exerted or potential; and this generates opposing force, averse from allowing its own people to be deprived by such means. Thus competition becomes conflict, the instrument of which is not commercial emulation but military power—on land or on sea.

In Europe and America, territorial occupancy is now politically fixed and guaranteed, so far as broad lines are concerned. Any changes of boundaries now possible, if effected, would produce no material result in universal commercial conditions. Australasia also is occupied, and the political dependence of the islands of the sea has been determined by arrangements between civilized states, more or less artificial, but internationally final. The huge continent of Africa, with exceptions small and inconsequential relatively to its area, is in the same condition. Its commercial relations, therefore, will be prescribed by states whose established right to do so will not be contested. Moreover, in the regard of Commerce, the fewness and backwardness of its inhabitants as yet make Africa a field of minor importance.

There remains, therefore, Asia. In the north and south of that great continent, also, we find political control fairly settled in the hands of European powers; the principal holders being Great Britain and Russia. Between the two, however, there is a broad belt, loosely defined by parallels 30 deg. and 40 deg. north latitude, in which commercial possibilities are very great, owing to natural resources and numbers of population; while political tenure, despite long prescription, is uncertain through political incapacity or racial disorder. Upon these districts, as is notorious, the ambitions or apprehensions of foreign states are fixed; for in their possibilities of development and the uncertainty of their future is necessarily involved the welfare of other peoples, bordering upon them or dealing with them.

Russia and Great Britain, the principal holders, represent also the chief elements in opposition. They are not, however, the only states concerned; although it is worth noting by Americans that the Russian Minister to Pekin in May last, just before recent troubles reached their climax, said to the British representative there, "that there were *only two countries with serious interests in China*—England and Russia." *

*My italics. The quotation is from "The Times" of July 30th, but is taken there from a Parliamentary paper, "China, No. 3, 1900."

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These two states do, however, in their policy, and in the nature of their power, represent the chief natural opposing forces, which essentially are that of the land and that of the sea. The other great nations of Europe, together with the United States and Japan, being exterior to the continent, are thrown necessarily upon sea-power, so far as military strength in the further East is concerned. This ranges them, therefore, alongside of Great Britain in general purpose; though by no means consequently in joint action, much less in formal alliance. Being locally deficient in land power, the desire of all such states must be to effect their commercial aims, not by forcing China, but by developing in her the sense of mutual advantage, of which commerce and its gains, though not the worthiest or most benignant result, are the most convincing expression. In its train we may hope will follow those moral and spiritual ideas, which outweigh material well-being in the thought of those who believe that man does not live by bread only, and in which alone can surely be found the happy renewal of Asia.

So far, then, as there may be contest for pre-eminence in Asia, and specifically in China, the states concerned—except Russia, and possibly France, because of her alliance with Russia—are driven perforce to throw themselves chiefly upon sea-power, in the broadest sense of the word. The great field for the successful exercise of this force is the course and valley of the Yangtse Kiang, for reasons easily evident. The stream penetrates far inland, and through a controlling part of its course is accessible directly from the sea by very large vessels. The valley, in its broadest comprehension, depends upon the river for its readiest intercourse with the outside world, and it intervenes geographically between northern and southern China, whether for distribution of merchandise or for operations of war. Influence established there possesses consequently the advantages of the "interior position," and, through the river, of open and constant communication with its base, the sea. Preponderant commercial importance, and a climate comparatively moderate, reinforce the advantages resultant upon the other conditions, and the whole constitutes this central, east and west, section of the Empire by far the most considerable of all in political possibilities. For these reasons, the outer world can most readily and beneficially act upon China in this quarter, and China herself can hence distrib-

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ute the benefits she receives more widely and evenly throughout her area. Seed sown here will yield an hundred fold, in contrast to thirty fold elsewhere.

The expansion of commerce, and the benefit resulting therefrom, are, however, only part of the objects that necessitate European pressure upon the China of our day. The close approach and contact of Eastern and Western civilization, and the resultant mutual effects, are matters which can no longer be disregarded or postponed by any arguments derived from the propriety of non-interference, or from the conventional rights of a so-called independent state to regulate its own internal affairs. They have ceased to be its own in the sense of Chinese isolation. Contact and interaction have begun; the process can neither be turned back nor arrested. All that can profitably be attempted is to direct it, by so shaping conditions that the higher elements of either civilization can act as freely as do the stronger and lower, though perfectly proper, motives of pecuniary profit. As the nations have insisted that we shall be allowed to sell and to buy, without pretending that the Chinese subject should be compelled to trade with us, leaving his personal action free to the motives of gain that operate with mankind; so they will have to insist that currency be permitted to our ideas, liberty to exchange thought in Chinese territory with the individual Chinaman, though equally without any compulsion resting upon him to listen even, much less to embrace. There is no tenable argument against the latter demand that does not equally hold against the former. On the contrary, if the advantage to us is great of a China open to commerce, the danger to us and to her is infinitely greater of a China enriched and strengthened by the material advantages we have to offer, but uncontrolled in the use of them by any clear understanding, much less any full acceptance, of the mental and moral forces which have generated, and which in large measure govern, our political and social action. Our failure perfectly to realize in practice our own principles in such matters neither invalidates the merit of the principles, nor negatives the fact that we do derive benefit even from imperfect conformity to them. We get less good, doubtless, than we should, and could, but for our dereliction from our standards; but the appeal can confidently be made to history that those faithful to the ideas have been the leaven that has worked effectually so far.

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It would appear, then, that the principal objects to be kept in view by us in dealing with the Chinese question are, (1.) Prevention of preponderant political control by any one external state, or group of states; and, (2.) Insistence upon the open door, in a broader sense than that in which the phrase is commonly used; that is, the door should be open not only for commerce, but also for the entrance of European thought and its teachers in its various branches, when they seek admission voluntarily, and not as agents of a foreign government. Not only is the influence of the thinker superior in true value to the mere gain of commerce, but also there is actual danger to the European family of nations from the development of China in an organized strength from which has been excluded the corrective and elevating element of the higher ideals, which in Europe have made good their controlling influence over mere physical might. Rationally, from this point of view, there is much that is absurd in the outcry raised against missionary effort, as a thing incompatible with peaceful development and progress. Christianity and Christian teaching are just as really factors, in the mental and moral equipment of European civilization, as any of the philosophical or scientific processes that have gone to build up the general result. Opinions differ as to the character and degree of the influence of Christianity, in estimates qualitative and quantitative, but the fact of influence cannot be denied. From the purely political standpoint, Christian thought and teaching have just the same right—no less, if no more—to admission in China as any other form of European activity, commercial or intellectual. Nor is the fact that offence is taken by classes of Chinamen a valid argument for its exclusion. The building of a railroad is not a distinctively Christian act, but it offends large numbers of Chinese, who are compelled to acquiesce if their government consent; whereas the consent of the Chinese government to missionary effort will compel no Chinaman to listen to a Christian teacher. Every step forward in the march that has opened China to trade has been gained by pressure; the most important have been the result of actual war. Commerce has won its way by violence, actual or feared; thought, both secular and Christian, asks only freedom of speech.

Conceding the critical importance of the present moment in the history of the world, admitting that movements intellectual and political, long in progress, are now reaching a turning point

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determinative of great future issues, it is essential to the United States that her individual citizens should seriously consider, and within themselves settle, the part the country ought to play, and the preparation necessary to that part. There is the preparation of purpose, and there is the preparation of power. Preparation of purpose is a mental and moral process, resulting in conviction as to right and wrong, followed by the conscious adoption of a course of action,—the formation of a policy,—general in outline but definite in object. Preparation of power is a material act, and consists of two correlative elements, viz: (1.) Provision of force, to the extent needed; and (2.) Curtailment of obligation, of responsibility, actual or contingent, present or promissory, in direction and in amount, beyond that which is demanded by the clear necessities of the political conditions. In short, economy of exertion, because it husbands strength, is the correlative of the process of development, which creates or augments strength.

Our policy and our power, therefore, are the two leading lines upon which consideration and reflection must concentrate their energy. As towards China herself, the recent astounding events have drawn from our government a declaration of purpose and of principles, which may fairly be said to represent a policy realized in our past action, and to affirm it for the present and future. Our people have not now to evolve a policy, but to decide whether that of the past justifies itself to their conscience, and embodies their purposes of the present. This still existent policy may, I apprehend, fairly be stated to be the determination to have equal commercial privileges, and withal to respect to the utmost the integrity of Chinese territory and the individuality of the Chinese character, in shaping its own government and polity. We do not meddle with their national affairs until they become internationally unendurable.

But, in the very enunciation of this policy, we are confronted by the fact that it is diverse from that of some other states, as shown by their acts in special instances and plausibly to be inferred from their general course and obvious tendency. Such divergence is not always necessarily a cause for alarm, but it is for watchfulness; and it must be taken into account in deciding upon the preparation we need, and the free-handedness to be maintained in external relations of lesser importance. Needless external preoccupations might greatly embarrass us, in case diver-

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gence from our policy should develop into opposition to our interests, or to those of civilization in general.

Briefly, we cannot be sure of the commercial advantages known as the "open door," unless we are prepared to do our share in holding it open. We cannot count upon respect for the territory of China unless we are ready to throw not only our moral influence but, if necessity arise, our physical weight into the conflict, to resist an expropriation, the result of which might be to exclude our commerce and neutralize our influence. Our influence, we believe —and we have a right to believe—is for good; it is the influence of a nation which respects the right of peoples to shape their own destinies, pushing even to exaggeration its belief in their ability to do so. But it is vain to hope for national influence in China, unless representative Chinese recognize, not only our integrity of purpose toward themselves, but our evident ability and intention to support them, against demands which overpass reasonable limits, having regard not to our own immediate interests only, but to the general interest of the world, from which we cannot dissociate ourselves in this matter without ultimate national injury. Such limits may not be capable of precise definition, before an occasion arises; but that a general principle, satisfactory as a guide in our own general action, and for general understanding by others, can be affirmed, is evidenced by the clear tenor of the recent declaration of our government communicated to foreign capitals.

The part offered to us is great, the urgency is immediate, and the preparation made for us, rather than by us, in the unwilling acquisition of the Philippines, is so obvious as to embolden even the least presumptuous to see in it the hand of Providence. Our highest authority, while rebuking rash judgment, rebukes also with at least equal severity the failure to read the signs of the times. This, therefore, we must seek to do. Our decision is momentous, in view of the possibilities involved in acceptance or in refusal, and of the wide range of interests and duties to be considered and co-ordinated in counting the cost of either course. Decision is the preparation of purpose; the cost embraces both the preparation of power and all that is involved in its future exertion, as far as we can foresee. And in order to our due running of the race before us, to the full exhibition of strength at decisive points, it is necessary to lay aside every unnecessary weight, to

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put away from ourselves, even at some sacrifice, cherished prepossessions, long standing prejudices, which, if retained, would futilely disseminate our force. What One has called the "single eye," and Napoleon phrased as "exclusiveness of purpose," is a necessary condition of effective action.

Assuming our resolution to maintain our commercial rights and to exert influence in China, by encouraging and supporting native action, though not by any assumption of authority or acquisition of territory, the valley of the Yangtse is clearly indicated as the central scene of our general interest, however we may be momentarily diverted, as by the recent occurrences in Pekin, to action different in character and direction from our fixed, usual policy. The open door, both for commerce and for intellectual interaction, should be our aim everywhere in China; but it can most easily be compassed in this middle region, and there find the surest foundation for impression upon other parts, because there sea power can most solidly establish itself. The very fact that sea-going steamers can go as far as Hankow, 600 miles from the sea, and thence take cargoes, without shifting bulk, to any great port of the world, shows without further insistence that this valley is the decisive field where commerce, the energizer of material civilization, can work to greatest advantage, and also can most certainly receive the support of the military arm of sea-power, which, where force enters into world politics, is the main reliance of the Teutonic peoples. It must also, for some time to come, be the main reliance of the Chinese people in resistance to foreign domination, as distinguished from legitimate foreign influence.

Our attention in the farther East thus localized, concentrated, for the very reason that effort seeking to cover a given area works more advantageously from a centre than by dispersion at points of a circumference, we shall find ourselves one of several Powers, rivals in interest, competitors, with the danger, incident to competition, of degenerating into antagonism. The fact does not call upon us to circumscribe our independence of action by formal alliance with one, or declared opposition to another Power; but it does demand that we rid our minds of the caricature of independence, which receives frequent expression in words, probably because it reflects a condition of our popular consciousness. Each man and each state is independent just so far as there is strength to go alone, and no farther. When this limit is reached,

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if further steps must be made, co-operation must be accepted. In that case, the only certain foundation for harmony of action and continuance of relations is to be found in common interests and common habits of thought. Where the latter are traditional, striking their roots deep in the past, community of ideas and identity of action in matters of right and wrong become most probable. Of all the nations we shall meet in the East, Great Britain is the one with which we have by far the most in common in the nature, not in the identity, of our interests there, and in our standards of law and justice. Co-operation, therefore, is indicated; but it is a mistake to assume that co-operation, which act by act is voluntary, necessitates or implies abnegation of that moral responsibility, involved in freedom of choice at each moment, in the retention and observance of which alone is real independence of action preserved, and which a treaty—of alliance, or of arbitration, if unconditioned—may impair culpably, because it pledges the unknown future. Hereabouts lies the fallacy of much popular oratory on more than one subject.

To assure the open door in its fullest sense, requires power in evidence, not merely localized in China itself, but asserted over the maritime lines of communication; especially over the shortest. This inevitable extension of effort shows at once the necessity of co-operation among states, or division of labor, mutually, if tacitly, recognized. In the antagonism of policy between land-power and sea-power which now exists, no one nation of those dependent upon the latter is competent to develop and sustain the whole gigantic scheme. Narrowed down even to the decisive points, as all control must be in politics as in war, the task overpasses the strength of any one state.

In final analysis, the great lines of communication to the farther East are two, from Europe and from America. The former is by way of Suez, the latter by the Pacific; but the present distribution of our national wealth, and its communications with our seaboard, require, and doubtless will insure, the opening of access for our Atlantic slope by way of the Central American Isthmus. In that case, the American line of communications to China may be correctly said to be by Nicaragua, or Panama, as that of Europe is by way of Suez; and as the Mediterranean, Egypt, Asia Minor, the Red Sea and Aden, designate the points decisive of control by the one route, so do the Caribbean Sea and the continental sur-

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roundings of the future canal, with Hawaii and the Philippines, fix those of the other, the importance of which to ourselves makes it our especial interest.

That it should be our special interest, however, is not all. It is also our *charge,* from the standpoint of international relations, as well as from that of our duty to the present and future of our own country. I do not mean here to affirm an obligation of benevolence to other nations, strong enough to take care of themselves. I mean, on the contrary, that because of great common interests—with Great Britain especially, though not solely—in the Pacific commerce of the future, and in the nature of the development of China, we need to receive and to give support, and we should be ashamed to receive more than we give, in proportion to our means and opportunities.

From the conditions, we must be in effective naval force in the Pacific. We must, similarly, be in effective force on the Atlantic; not for the defence of our coasts primarily, or immediately, as is commonly thought—for in warfare, however in defence of right, the navy is not immediately an instrument of defence but of offence—but because the virtual predominance of our naval power in the Caribbean is essential to preserve the use of the Isthmian Canal to our commerce, and to give our navy quick access to the Pacific.

We are confronted, in short, with the necessity of providing a weight that shall be decisive—or at least shall contribute largely to decisiveness—in both the Pacific and the Caribbean. It is obvious that, to be decisive, weight is not always necessarily a great weight, but depends upon the already existing relative conditions of the opposing scales. The conditions now, however, are not such that an inconsiderable naval force on our part can secure for us the consideration we naturally think due us in the councils of the world, nor discharge the obligations incumbent upon us as a member of the family of states, whose interests, often conflicting, must be adjusted on a basis of righteousness, and so maintained by demonstration of power. Our calculations must also take into account the fact that, when the canal is in operation, our Pacific and Atlantic fleets can communicate for mutual support only by an artificial route, too easily interrupted. This loses us, in great measure, the military advantage of an "interior line," which a natural strait would give; the advantage by which a force cen-

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trally situated operates effectually in two directions, reinforcing the situation in the one or the other direction, as needed. Thus, a navy of consideration at Malta can act toward Gibraltar or Suez; the way is open as far as the water is concerned, and the question, therefore, is one of force only; whereas at Suez the power to act toward both India and the Mediterranean depends not upon military force alone, but upon the canal being open. Suez, however, being on the natural level throughout, is much less easily susceptible of prolonged interruption than a canal dependent upon locks, as any Central American canal must be.

As, therefore, for the exertion of our commercial and moral influence in the East, it is of pressing importance to bring our Atlantic slope into close communication by a canal at the Isthmus,—which will serve our material interests, moreover, in other ways,—so it is of equal importance that we assure the use of the canal, once there, by the solidity of our naval position in the Caribbean. But, as this is a military question, let there here be interposed the caution, than which none is more clearly written on the pages of military history, that substantial security does not mean absolute security. There is no such thing in war as absolute certainty; risk cannot be eliminated wholly from any military situation, whether of passive defence or of offensive action. I suppose it is much the same in all callings; but, for war, certainly a reasonable preponderance of chances in one's favor is all that can be assured. Napoleon has asserted this in almost these very words in one of his pithy phrases.

May we then dismiss the effort for probable security because we cannot have absolute? Do men do so in any circumstances? Certainly, not the successful men. Let us then consider what conditions, if realized, would give the best prospect of preserving to our use the Isthmian Canal. The first, without which all others are of no avail, is our own strength, demonstrated by a fleet available for immediate action there, of power great enough, not to overcome any naval force that might conceivably be brought against us, for that would be beyond our means, but to make it evidently inexpedient, politically, for the greatest navy to contest our predominance in the Caribbean. This insures us, by a single military provision, a primacy of consideration, which will result in the prevalence of our policy and, in direct consequence of our policy so maintained, in the security of the canal; which it should

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be repeated is an essential element of our influence in the Pacific and in China. The provision of the fleet, however, is the first step, without which the others cannot follow.

To pronounce definitely upon the amount of such force is either to utter a dogmatic personal opinion, or to enter upon a prolonged technical discussion unsuitable to this paper and occasion. To indicate its general character and its points of application is another matter; for quality, as distinct from quantity, rests upon general considerations, which, being at once few and obvious, may be readily summarized and, whether accepted or rejected, readily understood.

The Atlantic, north of the equator, is the ocean of that old community of European civilization upon which, from our point of view, the welfare of humanity rests. Interior to that community, the boundaries of the great states are, in leading outline, so fixed and recognized that, whatever clashes may arise over external interests, there is no probability of large changes of territorial possession and consequeut local political control. The Pacific is different; it is a new comer into broad world interests. As the Atlantic some four centuries ago, with the widening outlook that followed the discovery of America and of the Cape of Good Hope, succeeded to the central position once held by the Mediterranean, so now the last half century—it is scarcely more—has received in the course of events its discovery, its revelation, of conditions which already existed, indeed, as did America before Columbus, but which had been as yet unknown, because unappreciated. And upon the discovery has followed the apprehension of what is to happen when the barriers are breaking down between two civilizations which stand upon such different levels—politically, economically, socially, and in standards moral and intellectual—as do the West and the East.

In estimating the issue, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance, as a factor, of that particular type of personal freedom, of aptitude for self-government, and of tenacious adherence to recognized law—by which alone freedom and self-government consist with orderly progress—that has been embodied in the race loosely called Anglo-Saxon. This type has proved its vitality and its worth by continuous existence and consistent development from the home of its origin, on the continental shores of the North Sea, throughout its abode in Great Britain, and in its subsequent trans-

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plantation to the over-sea countries, which have now become the United States and the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.

To the full expression of this political force, great alike in its nobility and in its vitality, the United States owes to mankind her due contribution; for in it is one of the greatest hopes—in our own national opinion the very greatest hope—of humanity And if to such contribution is essential the dismissal of old prepossessions, the recognition of facts hitherto not understood, resulting in a co-operation which shall not sacrifice independence of conscience by pledges, whether of alliance or of arbitration, this price should be cheerfully paid; as should be also that of any other exertion within our reasonable power to make.

The sphere for our external exertion in this cause is clearly indicated as the Pacific and the East, incident to which is predominance in the Caribbean by a navy of such size that, with Great Britain eliminated as a probable opponent—because of the radical changes in world conditions, and of the coincidence of our interests with hers in the great questions of the near future—and with her support indicated to the extent of the interests common to her and to us, we need have no substantial reason to apprehend interference. The consideration here advanced bears so heavily upon the national advantage, in the matter not of security only, but of expense in needed preparation—if Great Britain should be considered as a probable enemy instead of a probable ally—that it becomes a matter of patriotic duty to every citizen to consider whether he does well to cherish old animosities; to reflect whether the period in which, historically, these prejudices have their rise is not now as wholly past as the voyage of Columbus; or whether, perchance, they are simply transplanted to our soil from Europe by a process—in that case most misnamed—of naturalization. That is no true naturalization which grafts upon our politics sentiments drawn from abroad and foreign to our interests or duties.

In our calculations as to our necessary preparations under such conditions, it would not be presuming an unfair burden to Great Britain to reckon in part upon her supreme navy as a factor in a possible co-operation. It would be so only if we grudged our due proportion of a naval effort tending to the common advantage. Community of interest in objects to be effected implies

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mutual interest in each other's strength. To Great Britain the navy she maintains is indispensable to national safety—to the British Islands as such, and to the integrity of the widely dispersed British Empire. Whatsoever relations to other states she may temporarily entertain, this she must always have; while, on the other hand, she is at no such need of internal development as still weighs heavily upon our national resources. We, on the contrary, though imperatively needing interior improvements, have no cause to fear mortal injury by a blow to our external communications with the rest of the world. In this respect self-contained, we can, for mere internal safety and maintenance, depend upon ourselves, and we have no distant possessions vital to our simple existence, however useful they may be to our external development and influence. But in the great future of the world toward which our political conditions seem to call upon us to cooperate, for the good of both states and of the world at large, each is interested to see the other grow in strength. There need, therefore, be no captiousness on the part of Great Britain, nor any mortification on our part, if the proportions of military navy which we could contribute to the common end be modest, compared to hers, and that we devote resources to a development of national internal vigor which will inure to the common strength. The two efforts would not be contradictory, but complementary.

Our fleet must, however, be adequate, keeping in view the amount of support to which Great Britain would be limited by her own extensive responsibilities. It must be adequate, considering those who might oppose us, whether in the East or in the Caribbean. It must be adequate, considering that, on account of our merely national interests, as represented by our two ocean coasts, we must be able to exert naval power in both the Pacific and the Atlantic; remembering always, also, that the future canal, while facilitating support between our fleets on either side, is nevertheless open to interruption by force or treachery.

Insistence, however, should be laid upon one element of naval strength, which in mention is so usually omitted that it is reasonable to infer that it is most inadequately appreciated. We hear much of ships built, and of the mechanical results attained in them, as evidenced by speed, gun-power, armor, etc., but we hear rarely of our great deficiency in trained men to run these machines in their various forms—for a gun is a machine quite as really as

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is the propelling power of a vessel. To meet this defect, which is not only actual but great, there is no resource but the maintenance of a standing force—a standing navy—of enlisted men as well as of commissioned officers. A hundred years ago, when the engines were sails, and the guns simple tubes, the merchant seaman was already an engineer, and the gun handling was easily acquired; indeed, merchant ships also not infrequently carried cannon. There was, therefore, a large recruiting ground of efficient men always at hand, though bitter experience showed how the commerce of the country could suffer from such heavy drafts upon its seamen.

This resource no longer exists. A certain proportion of the engine-room force may possibly be drawn from the merchant service, but for the gun handling, upon which the fate of war depends, the deckhand of the merchant steamer is useless for intelligent action; he can do no more, at the most critical moment of opening hostilities, than pull and haul. It is a sound generalization to say that not more than one-third of a ship's company in war can safely be composed of such material. Therefore, to calculate the standing force of a navy, in peace and for war, the rule would be to estimate the fixed force, on a war footing, for each ship on the list, built or building. Two-thirds of the total obtained by adding these several results, would represent the size of the permanent body of men, the established *personnel,* of the fleet in peace. When war arises the other third may be sought outside.

A. T. MAHAN.

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THE THIRD LIFE OF ITALY.

BY GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

One evening last March, seated in my place on the Extreme Right in the temporary hall already doomed to be pulled down, in the Parliament House on Montecitorio, I was present at one of the most violent scenes that have ever taken place in any legislative assembly. For many days before, the group of the Extreme Left had been engaged in defending, with admirable strength and persistency, the liberties granted by the Constitution against the attempt of the Government to restrict them. A member for Florence, one of those still left of the decrepit Florentine exclusive party, the *consorteria,* and a descendant of a family devoted to the House of Lorraine, had made a motion, in the name of the majority (a piece of ineffectual and ungrammatical prose), to the intent that the liberal traditions of our parliamentary discussions should be checked at one stroke. On the benches on my side of the house, I saw this red-haired, bony *homunculus,* livid with party rage, surrounded by a group of partisans, who were doing their best to imitate the different sounds that issue from pig-styes or a farmyard. On the opposite benches was a group of men resolutely determined to support their idea with all their power and every means at their command; inspired by an ardent faith, moved by sincere wrath, some of them endowed with real eloquence and powerful lungs, others with strong muscles and warm blood, all of them teeming with life and capable of showing their vitality by genuine courage and capacity for resistance. "So far off from me," I thought; "so different! And yet, they alone stand up here to support the cause of life in the midst of such weakness, such uncertainty, and such decay!"

The atmosphere had become charged with electricity. From time to time the uproar was interrupted by bursts of applause,

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which broke in with a dry, hard sound like blows on flint. A powerful voice, like thunder, was heard repeating, over and over again, the same short phrase, full of threats, with the rhythm of a hammer beating on the anvil. Every face was inflamed with passion, behind a hedge of threatening fists. A breath of tragedy passed over those rebellious heads, awakening confused memories of turbulent assemblies on the eve of some great catastrophe.

I instinctively stood up, impelled by a feeling of disgust against those who were not able to raise an effective and meaning voice in opposition to that victorious energy, but merely an ignominious croaking. I crossed the hall and mounted to the highest bench of the opposite side, so as to observe the combatants better; and although I do not approve of their principles, I could not but admire their powerful efforts.

In the meantime, the members of the Government remained seated on the bench of Power, absolutely lifeless, with folded arms and eyes turned up to the ceiling, which was not falling. Even the old chairs had more life than they. It seemed as if even the furious ringing of the President's bell was unable to communicate the slightest vibration to their skulls as they sat stolidly just below. They remained stationary and inane, like wax figures in a museum.

At last, the bell broke. The President of the Chamber put on his hat, left his place, and the sitting was closed. Once more, the Extreme Left had won the day; had imposed its will upon the impotent majority.

The Deputies rushed from the hall, where the air had become unfit to breathe, charged with hatred as a cloud with lightning. A feverish agitation spread through the corridors. The echoes of the old Pontifical Palace were certainly alarmed at it all. One cry was heard above all the wrathful din: "To the Red Hall! To the Red Hall!" The leaders of the Extreme Left were summoning their disciplined forces to a secret meeting.

I had already decided what to do, and, passing through that feverish uproar, I felt in me that kind of icy clearness of mind which inspires men with calm courage. I knew very well what I was about on my way to the Red Hall. I saw quite clearly what was going to happen. The party from which I was separating myself so abruptly would become my bitter enemy; whilst the party to which I was betaking myself, without entering into its

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ideas, but only into its spirit of revolt, would not be friendly to me. Without doubt, I should bring down bursts of abuse upon myself from the innumerable Bœotians who people this dear Kingdom. I should bring down a fresh outburst of wrath upon my unfortunate head, already tried by so many storms; I should be left standing alone, with my faith and my strength only.

Suddenly, I found myself in the hall where the opposition party had met. All rose when I entered, and applauded, showing in this way that they honored intellect, firm will, and mental energy. Some one even recalled the words spoken by one of my tragic personages: "It is not hunger, it is not hunger alone, that cries out everywhere and holds out its hands; but it is revolt against the intolerable falseness which pervades all the organs of our existence, which deforms, poisons, and threatens them with death. This falseness must be done away with before we can live, or even exist."

I spoke briefly and clearly—so clearly that it would have been impossible to misunderstand me. Those who wished to make believe that I had surrendered myself entirely to the extreme parties, and that I had become a renegade to the doctrine of individualism, and to the worship of heroes, which is the life of art and all my works, have but shown their utter dishonesty.

Not only have I retained all the ideas firmly rooted in me by nature, and strengthened by education, but I most decidedly reaffirmed them on that occasion.

I.

The feeling which moved me to join the meeting of my adversaries is in no way opposed to the doctrine which inspires my art, my writings. On the contrary, it arose rather from the profound sincerity of that natural instinct which always inclines me towards every powerful and efficacious expression of nature. Among all the attitudes of man, the one I love best is that of a man bending a bow. Among all the manly undertakings, that which strikes me the most is that of one intent on destroying the law created by others to put his own in its place. All my heroes profess the most pure, intellectual anarchy; and their one thought is but a continuous aspiring to obtain absolute control of themselves, and afterwards to show it in definite acts. Andrea Sperelli, Tullio Hermil, Giorgio Aurispa recognize their wretchedness in

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their weakness of will, by which they are prevented from showing their real being; and they invoke in vain "an intercessor for life," as happiness is a thing that man must mould for himself, with his own hands, on his own anvil.

Claudio Cantelmo, that good Italian, who, during those days of struggle, was put up in opposition to me, especially by those who did not know him, has described in a few suitable words the efforts he made to reach the highest inner dignity. He regrets that the incapability of his caste does not allow him to head any civil undertaking; and, as he is not able to show himself as he would, he concentrates in his own spirit his own force of will, and creates an inner world of poetry. Now, poetry is action.

My last hero, Stelio Effrena, in "The Fire of Life," has a deep sense of this truth, when his conscience learns that, in the communion between his soul and the soul of the mass, an almost divine mystery has intervened, and that something grander and stronger has been added to his usual self. He repeats, with a still prouder faith, that which I said one day in a meeting of townsmen and agriculturists: "The word of the poet, communicated to the mass, is an act, like the exploit of a hero." And the doctrine which he follows and teaches is the doctrine of effort for effort's sake, the doctrine of continual struggle and conquest over the world. "I see everything changing in front of fire, like possessions in front of gold. One thing is constant: *my courage*. I do not sit down, except to stand up again." He knows that the ideal form of being does not develop otherwise than in profusion of life. At the extreme limit of his experience, through sorrow and sin, he will finally find the harmony of his soul, at peace with the Universe, completely revealed and understood, as the crowning of his indefatigable efforts. He will be, in the highest meaning of Leonardo da Vinci's words, a *"modello dello mondo."*

He, like his predecessor, in the face of the ridiculous figure which the Italian Parliament makes of itself, would not, by the logic of his ideas and the impulse of his instincts, take a resolution different to that which I took, and he would also certainly rejoice in hearing so many hoarse vociferations and so much harmless jabbering.

The great parliamentary lie is infecting the whole Italian life, like a cancerous sore on a sound body. The Parliament, in the representative system, ought to be a central organ of circula-

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tion, like a living heart, so that it may receive all the vital elements and distribute them, converted into restorative power, flowing through all the members of the country, as far as the most remote extremity, with a constant rhythm. The Parliament ought to be the supreme seat of the conscience and strength of the nation; a fiery furnace, where great ideas are moulded for the making of the laws.

As it is, what are the great ideas, which circulate along those narrow benches, on which so many dose, or pass jokes to while away the weary time, or distil the poison of their miserable greed? By what men are these ideas represented? Who has the thought of Italy in his mind still pure? Who knows or divines the latent forces in the hereditary substance of the nation, the instincts of our race, the aspirations of our ancient blood? Where is the Leader that we could follow, capable of reconciling grand acts with grand conceptions, and able, by his impulse, to favor the economical development, the higher condition of life?

The most arduous problems relating to commerce, agriculture, instruction, the patrimony of our language and art, on which our fate hangs, on which our very existence depends, are not considered otherwise than as quite secondary matters, to be made use of in the ministerial and anti-ministerial jugglery of second rate ambitious lawyers. Who really studies these problems? Who throws any light upon them? Who raises them up, by his intellect and feeling, before the eyes of the people and transfigures them into beautiful ideals, so that they may be loved and followed?

Because of this, because of the necessity for revolt and the need of action, so as to vigorously and resolutely oppose the wrecking of Italy, in which a herd of brutes is engaged, I separated myself from a political party, which has neither ideas nor courage.

Mine is an attempt of intellectual revolt against the tyranny of barbarians. It is the beginning of an undertaking which, with little power, perhaps, but most certainly with great faith, I should like to lead on to its close, if the example of a bold effort be of use for the purpose of saving anything beautiful or idealistic from the turbid wave of vulgarity, which, alas! is swamping the whole privileged land where Leonardo created his superb Madonnas and Michelangelo his indomitable heroes.

The time has gone by for dreaming solitary dreams in the shade of the laurel and the myrtle. Men of intellect ought to col-

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lect all their energy and support the cause of Intelligence against Barbarity, if the truest instinct of life is not benumbed in them. If they wish to live, they must constantly keep themselves in the front and fight against destruction, violation and contagion. If they wish to live, they must put an end to the present discord between thought and action; they must conquer the place, which is theirs of right, at the summit of the social edifice. After the warrior, the priest and the commercial man, the thinker must now come! The superiority of the caste, in which the conditions of the highest mental existence are embodied, must be recognized after the power of arms, of religion, of wealth.

It is now time that we should acknowledge the civil dignity of literature in its highest sense, and the true place which is due to the great worker in words, who is no longer to be considered as the delicate ornament of a laborious civilization, but as the first of the citizens, as the highest example of conscience ever produced by a nation, as the witness, interpreter and messenger of his time.

Why, then, should we perpetuate this dissension between thought and action? Why should we continue to ignore the high civil office of literature, exclude from public life the men of intellect and study, and deny one of the most noble of Italian traditions?

I was lately reading again, in that most excellent book by Vespasiano da Bisticci, the lives of the Florentine statesmen of old, from Cosimo dei Medici to Palla di Noferi Strozzi, from Pandolfo Pandolfini to Donato Acciaiuoli, from Bernardo Giugni to Piero dei Pazzi. Each life begins with this constant praise: "He had an extensive knowledge of Latin. * * * He was very fond of literature and greatly honored it. * * * His love of letters was his greatest accomplishment." What could the ancient beadle of the Republic say if he were charged to write the biographies of our men?

During the late elections, in a borough of Southern Italy, a friend of mine was reproved by his opponent for having made speeches in good Italian, rather than in the low lawyer's jargon so general among the Majority, and which is still more maimed and halting than the ordinary monastic Italian of the Middle Ages!

But the time has come for the foolish prejudice to be done

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away with, and for the unity of the human soul to be reconstituted. The spiritual powers cannot be separated; they are like the branches of one trunk, nourished by the same sap. Poetry, science, politics are not divergent, but convergent; the human soul and the human ideal are expressed through the same rhythm in a poem, in a law, in an action. Does not the highest Italian example that ever yet appeared on earth, typical of our race, Dante Alighieri, include everything in his sovereign unity? And shall we not always find in him the necessary guide, whom our gentle Latin race must follow to regain its old power? Will he not assist us in preparing the advent of the men for whom we are waiting, capable of uniting in one single ideal great actions and great thoughts.

And yet, in Italy, men destitute of all culture and mental capacity, who preside over Government and public affairs, are called *practical men.*

"In Italy there are no practical men," was said by Gino Capponi, a Florentine, whom none could suspect of trading with the lowest class of artisans, the *Ciompi* of old, although he was a descendant of that other Gino, who wrote the *Commentario sul Tumulto;* "there are no practical men, because practical men do not know how to be anything but mechanics or accountants."

And our politics are the work of insignificant mechanics and humble accountants, without ideas and without faith, and are but a perpetual conflict of vulgar interests and fierce greed. All zeal diverges and turns only upon itself, and for itself, without any accord with the other forces and functions of the State. The Italians, now that they have finally succeeded in crowning with unity the aspirations that had inflamed the purest spirits through the course of centuries, and in realizing the sublime dream of Dante and of Machiavelli, now offer us a singular instance of political dissension, of general discontent, of disaffection for their native land, of aversion for the State, of weariness such as it would be difficult to find in the history of any other nation.

Why should we not have the courage to investigate and demonstrate the evil?

That which is taking place in Italy at the present day, has no counterpart. There have been, in certain historical periods, instances of weariness and political hatred, but always limited to a few special classes; now, however, here in Italy the moral dis-

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content is spread everywhere, over every class, in every place. A constant acrimony, a weary vexation, an unspeakable sadness darken and sterilize the entire life of the nation. The delightful light-heartedness of the Italian people, which withstood the test of political divisions and the stranger's rule, is all gone. The grand, heroic flame, which stirred the people together with the same ardor, is extinguished; and the Italians of to-day—after forty years of political unity—are intent on nothing else than exercising secret or open hostilities one against the other, or in moving their forces in contrary directions, even when they are allied. The national conscience, which had sprung up in the fire of the great revolution, in which all differences seemed as if they were fused like different metals in one furnace, has little by little, through bad systems of government, gone on growing weaker and weaker; and to-day it seems almost entirely to have gone astray. And this falling away, the culminating point of misery and danger, is contemporary with the violent exaltation which strengthens the will and the instincts of the most powerful races in the world.

II.

Let us look at Germany, our ally, that succeeded in reaching the height of its unity about one year after the constitution of the Royal power in Rome. Germany furnishes us with an admirable example of a national consciousness, newly aroused in the very depth of a land which had for a long time remained divided and inert. In less than thirty years, its collective life has grown and developed in a marvelous manner. A constant breath of new life blows over its plains furrowed by wide navigable rivers; and this new life stimulates it constantly and effectually to commercial efforts that are unsurpassed by those of any other country in Europe. Germany is bent on providing itself from day to day with more rapid and efficacious weapons for conquest, on opening out new paths for commerce, and on preparing, by means of repeated small victories, the supreme victory of the future. Every town has become a burning furnace, a centre of vast industries; the men from the fields have been attracted by the precise and shining machines; the chimneys of the factories, by thousands, are belching forth smoke over the pointed roofs of the houses, and the stones of the cathedrals are blackened with

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soot. The movement in Germany's ports has increased so rapidly, that in a short time it will equal that of the great ports of England. "Germany's future is on the sea," are the prophetic words of the German Emperor. And the Empire fosters this, its destiny, by an output of incessant work. In less than thirty years, her merchant service has approximated in number and capacity to that of Great Britain. At the close of the war, it numbered only five hundred ships; to-day it can count about four thousand. All the arsenals are filled with workmen preparing to launch new keels into the sea; the art of shipbuilding has become a noble art. The German dockyards are filled with work from all parts of the world; millions of tons are launched every year, and to-day the Imperial flag is flying from the masts of well-built ships floating in every sea upon the globe. The men at the head of the government are ever on the lookout for new and wider openings for the immense industrial production—in Africa, in North and South America, in the Asiatic continent, in the young Australian States. The new industrial activity has been marvelously grafted on to the old Prussian military traditions; and the Germans have felt their instinct of dominion strengthened in the harmony and success of labor, adapting themselves to the weapons employed in another kind of war. France is again vanquished; and England, threatened, is anxiously searching for means wherewith to defend herself.

Here, also, we are looking on at an almost frenzied exaltation of the national spirit, at an extraordinary impetus of the strength of a race.

England, hampered by the United States and by Germany on the very spots where her commercial supremacy seemed confirmed through the course of centuries, now seems about to take her revenge by increasing in an extraordinary way her colonial possessions, by indefinitely spreading her Empire, by putting into effect the ambitious and warlike conception, which Sir Charles Dilke was the first to lay before the British pride. All the living forces of the Nation, elated by a poet and led by a statesman, tend towards the image of a "Greater Britain." The race of the five meals, as Rudyard Kipling calls the English, is opening its jaws to devour the universe.

The dream of this rapacious, insular soul is, in its vastness, to be compared only to the record of the undertaking accomplished

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by the Romans *in Orbe*. Out of the blood spilt in the Transvaal tragedy a violent fermentation arises, which maddens with glory. *"Tu regere imperio populos."* Each subject of the Queen has the image of the Oceanic Empire floating before his eyes, that *Oceana,* which in Froude's vaticinating book emerges from the depth of the seas and throws its immeasurable shadow over the depressed nations. No oracle was received by the pugnacious Hellenes with equal faith. Never was a sacred oath taken by neophytes with greater fervor. The man from Birmingham, Joseph Chamberlain, was able to say in one of his speeches to the Londoners, after his return from a tour of apostolic preaching through the United Kingdom, when relating his enthusiastic reception:

> "I was perhaps worthy of such a reception, for two merits which I feel I may here state: my faith in the Empire and my faith in the Race. Yes, I believe in our Race, which is the greatest among all the ruling races of the world; I believe in the Anglo-Saxon blood, proud, tenacious, trusting, resolute, unchangeable in every climate and every condition, predestined to be, without fail, the overpowering force in the future history of human civilization. * * * I believe in the future of this Empire, vast as the world; of which no Englishman can speak without a thrill of enthusiasm."

And the results are: West Africa invaded, Uganda occupied, the Soudan subjugated, the Niger and Lake Tanganyika daringly navigated; in Asia, to the wide territory which stretches between Afghanistan and Siam, the Chinese shore has been added, where British energy is restlessly at work The divided and far-off dominions will be united; the gaps will be filled; all the lands where the mother tongue is spoken will be bound by a new link; from India to Canada, from Australia to Egypt, from the United States to the Cape, a sole will and a sole aspiration shall animate the federated peoples. The "Greater Britain" will be permanently constituted; the face of the earth will be changed, and a new Era will commence in the history of mankind. As in former times the Roman peace shone over the Mediterranean, so in the same way the *Pax Britannica* will shine over all the Oceans.

If, notwithstanding everything, this grand idea—in which all the instincts of the race, even the lowest, are transfigured into a yearning towards a higher life—is not to realized, it has nevertheless so much active energy that its decisive influence in the balance of the world cannot be denied. What they dwindle to, in comparison to this mass of will and interests, what do they be-

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come, all those little timorous combinations, which hide themselves in the desiccated folds of the brain of a marquis, to whom the making of the foreign history of the Kingdom of Italy is entrusted! The great drama enacted on the stage of the world was never so grand, or so thrilling. At the present moment we have the demonstration that, as regards nations, we must not expect either great misfortunes or great happiness to result from different forms of government, but from the power of dominating the forces of nature.

This laborious travailing of the human species is nothing else than the fever of youth; it is nothing but the expression of a longing for a higher life. In the innumerable factories that rise from the soil, in the mines which sink down into the earth, in the wagons which run along the iron rails, in the ships that sail over the seas and rivers, and in all the instruments of labor and of wealth, marvellous beauties are being prepared. A new force will spring from force: *Vis ex vi.* In art, in commerce, and in politics, matter and chance are nevertheless tyrants. The reign of the human soul has not yet begun. "When material operating on material can take the place of men's arms, then the soul will begin to see a glimpse of the dawn of its liberty." This was said, long since, by an Italian, who had the power of divination. The all powerful machines, which also answer to the exact rhythm, announce an unknown poetry, an unspeakable joy, an unhoped for liberation.

The pure idea, towards which we inevitably tend, cannot manifest itself except in exuberance of life. And life was never more fervid or more fruitful than now. What historical fact can be compared in grandeur to the revival in Asia, to this sudden rejuvenation, which gives new life to sacred Asia, the land of sublime and entire unity? A sealed Empire, the Celestial Empire, awakened by contact of Western civilization, agitated by rebellion, shaken by war, is about to throw on the labor market the alarming mass of its yellow race. Another stationary Empire, that of the Rising Sun, is giving the unheard of example of a transformation which seems rather a marvellous creation. And here the strength and pride of race triumph and devour without ever being satiated. Those who conquered the Celestials, and are now fighting by the side of the Europeans, aim at conquest. They are not thinking only of the dominion of Asia, but of the whole Pacific! Their

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greed includes the Philippines, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and Hawaii. The boastful words of Okuma are well known: "Europe is decrepit; we will gather up her inheritance!"

And North America, with its industrial progress already so vast and imposing, but still far from having reached its highest grade, with its grand rivers, immense valleys and countless mineral wealth, presents a picture of productive energy which cannot be compared to anything yet heard of in history. And in Australia, the virgin strength of peoples hardly adolescent is now in effervescence.

Here and there in Europe, also, the race struggle continues unsolved and furnishes ever varying elements of association and of separation. In Austria-Hungary, the perpetual discord between the German, Magyar and Slavonian forces will shortly be followed by dissolution. On the banks of the Danube, at Vienna, Prague, Buda-Pesth, Agram, in our beloved Trieste, the principle of nationality acts like implacable leaven. And the commercial struggle, the fight for wealth, carries with it danger of most terrible conflagrations everywhere. The smoke of the factories suggests the vapors of lyddite; the glistening of the well polished machinery recalls the flash of steel weapons. Never were the rights of the weaker races more cruelly violated by tyranny and avidity. The hoarse cry of War is heard over and above the assiduous din of the factories. The whole world is bent like a bow; and the words of Heraclitus the Dark never had more meaning than to-day: "The bow is called *Bios,* and its work is death."

What part, what destiny will Italy have in this formidable struggle? Will she again find her spirit? Will she shake and arouse to their very depths the dormant forces which might save her? Does she realize, in this moment of painful awakening, the necessity for sweeping away the mass of vile imbecility which is keeping her down?

III.

Let us consider awhile our statesmen, beginning with the seniors, those called "liberators," those who *made* Italy.

He was a courageous speaker of truth, the man who dared to say that we ought to immolate these men called liberators, and then throw them into the foundations of the third Rome; and, according to the ancient custom of burial, lay at their feet, by

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their sides, and in their hands, the things they loved and were familiar with; and then detach and drag down from the summits of the mountains the largest blocks of granite, so as to eternally close the venerable sepulchres. In this way, we should have gazed upon them, with our souls' eyes, resplendent forever in the flaming vortex of revolution; and we should have inferred, from the far off beauty of their heroic exploits, an heroic reason for their apotheosis.

But they in fact came out of the flames blinded. They were not equal to the contemplation of the face of their country recomposed, and they could not recognize the thought which illuminated the divine turreted brow, cleansed from the gun powder, from the blood and sweat. Every generous pulsation stilled in their veins, they appeared before us in all the abjectness of their senile decay; but their hands, although feeble and vacillating, still had sufficient strength to manacle and soil those sacred things which ought to have been placed upon the altars and honoured by solemn worship.

Let us now consider the new men, who have come from the law-courts, or some remunerative office, real mechanics and accountants, as Gino Capponi would call them—arid manipulators of taxes and weavers of intrigues.

Who among these, up till now, has shown that he understands the idea towards which our race has been led by its destiny, through the vicissitudes of centuries? Not one of them was ever a man who could represent the national genius; not one of them had ever considered with a clear eye the *tout ensemble* of the life lived by the race up to the present moment so as to gather from it an old truth to place before us as a guide to new laws?

What have they done with beauty, art, learning, flourishing industries, all the rich treasures, all the most noble adornments of the Italian spirit, those men who have taken part in the government during the last thirty years? By what means have they defended, by what means have they endeavored to increase, the patrimony of the grand Latin culture, which innumerable generations of artists and learned men have handed down to us, as a faithful witness of the privilege by which nature has distinguished our blood? With what undertakings have they favoured those superior apparitions of moral energy which have lit up the tumultuous firmament of our history, like flashes of lightning? Alas!

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everything has been debased or deformed beyond remedy in their incapable hands!

Who amongst them has shown that he recognized the ancient, active virtues of the Italians, the variety of their work, the wisdom of their institutions, the prevalence of great men, the fervor of civil passions, the impression of *man* in everything—the utensil made a living being, the stones collected together by a decree of glory, the public power expressed by grand buildings, the city sculptured like an idol, all that splendid, dissonant accord which constituted the free State?

Every one prepares the blacking for his own shoes in his own way, and does not notice, or pretends not to notice, that the blacking does not hide the numberless cracks in the leather.

No men in government have ever in fact given more proofs of gross incapability, or of great ignorance of the most elementary laws which rule the development of the natural life. No modern constitution is so terribly mistaken with regard to the people on whom it has been imposed as ours; and its errors have never been more blindly and obstinately exaggerated by means of its administration, which seems to be expressly fitted to increase these same errors. There are other new States in Europe; but not one has, like ours, done away with all traditions of the past, and not one consequently has accumulated so many pernicious incongruities in its method of government. Political greatness does not exist except for that people which shows that it understands its new destiny, and is united in employing all its strength to carry it out, remaining tenacious, however, in preserving the greater number of its traditions, and decided in confirming and building up; not in contraposition, but in addition, to that which existed.

The work of our men in power has been nearly always destructive. They not only did not understand how art and culture ought to crown the new edifice in a country called Italy; but they took no account, in the new constitution, of the tendencies shown in our history for centuries.

The Italian political constitution, in fact, framed on the French model, has assumed for its principal task that of destroying all the local powers, which once upon a time were the health and glory of Italy. The municipal government having been abolished, which in Lombardy had succeeded in protecting that region from German oppression, which had succeeded in Florence in

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stirring up the Roman blood against the remains of German tradition and race, the State has thought well, by means of implacable assimilations, to deprive the Italian regions of their traditional individuality, and to smother their original energy under restrictions of the meanest uniformity.

The local governments discouraged or destroyed in this way, the local life—in which the richest elements of social prosperity are collected together—weakened and corrupted, our country has arrived at the point of considering executive power as a common enemy, the elective power as a blind, ignorant, anonymous and irresponsible power, and, finally, the Senate—which has neither the historical origin of the English House of Lords, nor the democratic origin of the Belgian Senate—as an useless organ, an asylum for invalids, a kind of comfortable home for old age.

The immediate consequence of this discredit of the State is more bitterness in the struggles of parties and classes. Each faction becomes more exacting, and in each party—even in that which is called conservative, and, perhaps, more markedly in that party—a spirit of revolt is in fermentation. All the political energies in Italy spread from the centre; that is to say, they violently diverge from the central power.

All this moral trouble—discontent, weariness of the government and laws—produces a kind of half hidden anarchy, which pervades the country and upsets all discipline; so that the Italian of to-day regards every recourse to public action as a risk and an evil. The system of taxation was born and has grown up in confusion, not unlike the weeds and rank grass which invade and choke up a deserted field. There is no rational principle to regulate it, no order to render it logical and just, no elasticity to adapt it to the infinite gradations of wealth and labor. Its only office is to oppress and suffocate; and it seems to have been drawn up purposely to oppose, with a series of hostile impediments, all industrial movement; whilst the waste in public works is so foolish, that we have seen colossal fortunes made by jobbers in every city in Italy. And this waste is not only a cause of financial trouble, but it is also a cause of moral acrimony. "The bank has become a political organ, and politics are now the bank," some one justly said.

Not even the magistracy is free from this confusion. And there is no more serious symptom of decay in a State than this;

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because, according to the profound consideration of our historian Guicciardini, "the mass appreciate justice more than liberty, and resent far more an offence to the former than to the latter."

Let us also consider that other most important office in a country like Italy, which is called the Ministry for Public Instruction, established for the purpose of preserving our patrimony of art, and promoting culture.

To gain an idea of the disregard in which this high office is held by the men at the head of the government, it will suffice to pass in review the worthless men who have been exalted to that place, with the exception of some rare and honest men of talent, who did not succeed, however, in destroying the bureaucratic conspiracy. We need only recall the fact that, not long since, an old professional politician, who up to that day had never shown any other qualities than those of a police officer, and who had but just left his office as a Commissary in Sicily, was installed as head of this Ministry, which directs the order of studies and watches over the national treasure of fine arts. It is but natural that this kind of man should be more interested in the intrigues of the small parliamentary groups, than in reorganizing a museum or a library, and that a "combination" for propping up a Ministry in danger should be far more urgent for him than the repairing of some wonderful basilica in ruins. Does not the traveller in Italy meet signs of neglect and destruction at every step? Who has not looked with sorrow and wrath upon the remains of master-works, destroyed by the ravages of time and modern barbarians? Who has not seen noble monuments of beauty, around which a civilized people ought to institute perpetual worship, perish through neglect? It is easier to obtain from the government a knightly order for a thief, than a small sum of money to strengthen an apsis which threatens to fall.

Nor, indeed, is there much cause for rejoicing, when the State undertakes to put in order, arrange or repair anything. It is well known that for several years an execrable restorer—whose name ought to be condemned to eternal infamy—went from one to the other of the principal museums and churches of Italy, repainting pictures and frescoes with a kind of insatiable fury. There is not a single figure by Carpaccio in the "History of Saint Ursula" in the *Academia* in Venice that has not been dishonored by that infamous brush. Nearly all the paintings by Giotto in Assisi have

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suffered the same outrage. And one of Titian's grandest masterpieces, the "Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence," in the Jesuits' Church at Venice, has been irreparably destroyed by the pitch of this vile smudger.

Well, then, this same smudger, instead of being burnt alive on the gridiron like Saint Lawrence, is quietly spending his old age, blessed with a sinecure, troubled with one regret only, and that is that he is not able to repaint the whole world.

Legion is the name of similar restorers, and to the deformity of these restorations we must add the mania for transforming every living work of art into an object for a museum, into a dead thing, carrying it away from the place where it was born, removing it from the very conditions of its ideal existence, causing it, I should almost say, to fade and lose its color, like a tree transplanted, like a flower cut from the stalk. Alas! Art is but an inert memory. When, then, will the rhythm of Art and the pulse of Life beat together in the same pulsation?

Let us consider, moreover, the uncertainty and the stupidity which have reigned supreme so long in the organization of the schools. This organization is quite illogical and out of keeping with the necessity of the situation. Tradition is ignored; but there is no vitality to take its place. There are men born in poverty, sons of peasants, of workmen, of clerks, laborious and retiring men, who have acquired education through hard work and self-sacrifice. They ask for admission into so-called "Society" on the strength of their University degrees; they are not rebellious, seditious; on the contrary, they are humble, well behaved and quite disposed to become good middle-class citizens; and yet they end in the clutches of want, in the horrors of starvation. They believed that education would have provided them with bread; but education only allows them to die of hunger.

Here we have a new form of misery, and consequently of rebellion, far more painful and far more terrible than any other form. The rancor of those who are led through education to naught else than to learn, with the mortal uncertainty of the morrow, the humiliation which dishonors and the servitude which abases, originates first of all in the schools, and then is confirmed in the liberal professions. They can but swell the number of those workmen who are moved by a spirit of asserting by violence their right to live.

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But, if we pass from domestic to foreign politics, a still more miserable picture presents itself. Always hesitating, sometimes greedy, then timid, fluctuating between petulance and humility, scorned in every small or important event, they pass through a succession of sterile desires and sad renunciations, and appear to be forced to keep up a perpetual jig like those matrons of old whom Nero obliged to jump about in the circus. What part has Italy ever played in the Mediterranean, of which she is historically, geographically and ethnographically the Queen? In a few words, she has allowed every hope to be taken from her of extending her dominion over that little strip of shore on which she might still have cast her eyes from afar. Tunis, Cyprus, Egypt, Crete are fading away on the horizon. An attempt is being made in Malta to tear up the last of Italian sentiment by suppressing the glorious language which once was spread all over the East. I myself have heard a statesman speak of the possibility of a secessionist movement in Sicily, and of an English occupation. Just think of this! And is there not, now and then, talk of design which France is said to entertain with regard to Sardinia?

This shows to what a low level political conscience has fallen in those who direct the destinies of a country in which the science of the Statesman flourished; in which the art of government was brought to such marvellous perfection—an art not founded, however, on false scholastic methods and puerile illusions, but on living realities, on facts, on experience, on that acute study of men and institutions, with their analogies and resemblances, in which the Florentine ambassadors and diplomats appeared unrivalled, both during the Republic, as well as when on the fall of communal liberty the new principality was constituted, and, in contradistinction to the foreign yoke, the grand vision of Machiavelli shone out over the world.

On the other hand the fair fame of Italy in the face of the world is not entrusted to a powerful and efficient instrument or weapon of offence such as her Navy ought necessarily to be. I said "weapon of offence," when I ought to have said *sine qua non* of existence; as the country's whole being draws life from the sea, and cannot live except by breathing the sea's salt air.

I trust I may be allowed to take some credit for the courageous campaign I conducted some years since as to the state of our Navy, when a disagreement arose between Signor Brin, then Minister

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of Marine, and Admiral Saint Bon in reference to the question of increasing the number of the ships's crews.

This question of the manning of the ships, and many others similar, such as that of the arsenals, of the torpedo-boats, discipline, enlistment and promotion—about which I told some unpleasant truths—are all very serious and pressing at the present moment; and even now naval men are placed in command who have not the courage to cut away the ulcerous sore without fear or pity.

The present Minister of Marine is known as the "seller of ships." It was he who allowed the *Garibaldi* to be sold to to the Argentine Republic. It was he who sold to Spain that other ship, which under the name of *Cristobal Colon* ended miserably with her sides smashed in on the rocks of Santiago.

But who does not remember with what anxious attention Italy followed the new life given to her Navy, at the time of the great Admiral, after the miserable inefficiency into which her fleet had fallen, more especially under the Ministry of Guglielmo Acton? One after another those marvellous ships were launched, which seemed the most wonderful pieces of construction ever devised by human genius, and the most terrible and rapid instruments in existence for attack and defence. It seemed as if Italy brought them forth after painful labor, launched them upon the crest of a huge wave of love, and gazed upon them as beloved daughters, nourished by her best blood, and animated by the most glowing emotions. The enthusiasm, the greetings, and the benedictions which accompanied the successful launching of a new ship resounded from one end of the peninsula to the other in one immense echo. Not only along the sea-coast at Venice, Genoa, Spezia, Naples, Leghorn, where historical tradition was more alive, and the new energy strongest; but also in the inland provinces, in mountainous districts along the whole length of the Apennines, every heart was beating with anxiety, every one followed with the warmest good wishes and with joy the last iron daughter that Mother Italy was taking to the baptism of the sea.

What names they bore! *Italia, Lepanto, Dandolo, Duilio, Ruggero di Lauria, Morosini, Roma.* The figure of winged Hope was standing for us at the prow of each ship, and at the top of each mast the symbol of Victory was shining. Where is the Italian that did not then, in those moments of generous impulse,

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feel a thrill of pride on hearing names laden with such grand recollections, such solemn omens, such great promises?

The love of the sea and of naval glory is still alive in Italy, deep and unchangeable, as in the days of the Republics. It is a grand and beautiful inheritance which is handed down from century to century, and cherished in the hearts of the Italians. No other aspiration is more general and truly national. And the national flag will never appear so beautiful, so free, so victorious in the eyes of the people, as when it waves over a powerful new man-of-war; "magnetic," in the words of Walt Whitman, "as the glance of a woman."

Italy—we must never tire of repeating it—will either be a great power on the sea, or nothing; and not merely a great naval power with warships, but with a number of merchant vessels, as in the grand old days of her maritime republics; as it is at sea that the supreme destinies of nations are to be decided. And the fibre of the Italian sailor is in truth so strong and pliant, that he can stand comparison all the world over, for his singular vigor of body and of mind.

As Italy is an essentially maritime nation, so excellent sailors are to be obtained from inland districts. The inspiring breath of the sea reaches as far even as the sides of the Alps and spreads along the whole length of the Apennines. Every Italian is a sailor because all feel that eternal greatness is on the sea.

Our conscription for the sea ought to be extended. We ought to levy men not only from the sea coasts, but from the whole of the peninsula. The present number of officers and sailors would not suffice to equip all our ships in time of war, even with reduced ship's companies. And most serious harm arises from our system of recruiting young men destined for the naval career, as well as from the system of promotion; which is so illogical and unjust that it appears specially designed to prevent good and capable officers from rising. The General Staff, too, is still a turbid mixture of mutually repulsive elements, at the bottom of which still seethe the germs of old evils—unchecked ambitions, personal and local jealousies, favoritism, ignorance and servility.

The only real way of serving the navy would be for a man to come forward and courageously effect the necessary reforms; and, by selecting the best elements and cleansing the whole body, change a motley crew, restless and discontented, into an excellent

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nucleus of men, bound together by the heroic bond of duty, experienced in sea-faring ways, prepared for good or bad luck in war, consecrated to glory or to death; free, loyal, staunch brothers in the name of Italy.

But what undertaking, with any life in it, can ever be brought to a conclusion so long as this kind of madness continues, which drives the State to continually oppose those historical laws which our race must obey if it would recover its original position?

The careless neglect, for example, which the State shows in face of the great agrarian problem, which is of the same vital importance as the maritime, is incredible. The so-called group of the Agrarians, in the Italian Parliament, is small and feeble. In the "Reports on the Inquiry into the Agricultural State of the Country," we read: "Our country, at the time at which it was organized into one State, was, as regards agriculture, a *terra incognita;* and still is so, more or less." Notwithstanding which, the traditions of this most noble of man's works, agriculture, in Italy, are splendid.

In addressing the people of Florence during the recent electoral contest, I said:

"You, Florentines, the most ancient authors of that agrarian compact, which is one of the most important monuments of Italian civil wisdom; you, who were the first, at the time of your Republic, to forestall by five centuries the laws of the French Assembly, in declaring Liberty sacred, inalienable, the will of God, necessary for the prosperity of the people; you, who were the first to free the peasant from bondage, and to free from fetters and oppression agricultural work and the noble strength of the man who drives the plow and sows the seed; you, Florentines, who were the first—when the serfs were groaning on the sod in all other parts of Europe and were considered on the same level as the beasts—to raise the wielders of the scythe and pitchfork to the dignity of associates, calling them to share the joys of life with the citizens; you must to-day repeat the example you then gave. Raise to the honor of a seat in Parliament one of your wise and honest agriculturists, rather than one of those chattering lawyers. Give a voice to the soil, give many voices to the soil! In the midst of this general decay is not the peasant—strong, rough, sober, persevering, healthy—the best man amongst you? As he is the best, ought he not to have his part in public affairs?"

Italy, I again say, ought to be a great naval and agricultural power. There is a resemblance between the spur of the prow and the iron of the plough. That vision of the poet was just, in which the symbol of our native land appeared, like that ancient, insular victory, on the prow of a ship having the form of a ploughshare.

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IV.

An unforeseen and terrible event has come upon us, to sweep away in an impetuous wave of grief and indignation all these miseries and all these failings. The blood of Humbert I. has fallen like a sacred leaven on the Italian soul, to awaken a sudden fervor of noble aspirations and good will. An heroic spirit has arisen from the dead body of that King, who had witnessed with such grave sadness the decline of every ideal in that third Rome, which ought to have represented before the world the indomitable love of the Latin race for the Latin soil, and ought to have sent forth from its heights rays of the marvellous light of a new life.

That resigned and veiled melancholy, superimposed on a feeling of invincible fatalism, gives a character of most noble gentleness to the late royal figure. As he was not able to exercise strength, he exercised kindness. It has been said that no other king of our times had, like Humbert, learnt to look suffering and death in the face; that no other king had felt pity and sympathy for human sufferings more deeply than he. This is true; and this is the grandest and purest of his titles to glory. And this is why —treacherously struck down by a vile coward's hand, in the midst of his people, among whom he had gone unarmed and alone—he was able to die with such serenity of soul, and with the simple and profound words of ancient wisdom on his lips, *"Non è niente!"*

All his surroundings were tragic, on that night of terror, from the roar of the crowd to the rolling thunder of the storm. Everything was tragic, as on the battlefield of Villafranca, as in the inundations in the Venetian provinces; as in the midst of the cholera stricken people in Naples and Busca, as among the ruins of Casamicciola; and he alone was calm in his lucid melancholy, and could die saying, *"It is nothing!"*

But out of his dead body—carried down through the peninsula, along the Apennines, along the sea, as far as Rome, on a memorable wakeful night—an heroic spirit has arisen which seems to be stirring the national conscience. And now, the aspirations and the wills of those fervid men, who would all so willingly join the search after the last effigy of beautiful Italy, all converge in his heir, in the young Victor Emanuel III.

Are these thrills of feeling a sure sign of a reawakening?

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And does the new King belong to the race of those heroes who point out a goal for the energy of their people, and are equal to leading them up to it? We must hope in youth, and, like the Athenians on the great day of Mycale, take as our pass-word *"Hebe,"* the goddess of youth.

It is in fact a matter of bending the great bow of Ulysses. The greatest and most dangerous problems—the Roman problem, the Southern problem, the naval problem, the agricultural problem—are all there and waiting to be solved.

The Roman problem, which concerns the relations between Church and State, has just lately, owing to the Vatican *intransigenza,* been violently flaunted before the eyes of the government, which has, up till now, always avoided facing it, pretending to ignore it, whilst Italy finds herself in the painful and most singular condition of supporting, within her domain, two political organizations, different from one another, opposed to one another, and moved by essentially contrary tendencies.

The Roman Pontificate is by origin and tradition a political organization. The Church in Italy must be considered as a vast and most powerful political association, hostile to the State; and it would be a childish error to seek the solution of the present dissension in Camillo Cavour's illusory formula, "The free Church in the free State." As liberty cannot repair the wrongs which the Church affirms that it has received at the hands of the State, it cannot remedy the harm which its enmity has already done, or that which it is slowly and surely preparing. As formal religion can be a most efficacious, conservative power when it works in harmony with the constitution, so is it a cause of separation and ruin when at war with the constitution. Ruggero Bonghi depicted this evil under the image of a cancer; it seems to me, however, that it would be expedient not to heal it by extirpation.

In the stating, as in the solving, of the problem, we must not neglect to consider the historical origin of the Pontificate—Roman by birth, with a Roman life behind it, and being a transformation of that political energy out of which the grandeur of ancient Rome arose. The early Christians used to represent Christ with the laticlave; Gregory the Great is called the "Consul of God" in the epitaph composed by Petrus Oldradius. The statue of St. Peter, which is venerated in the Vatican Basilica, is moulded out of a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, which Leo the Great ordered

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to be recast in thanksgiving for the liberation of Rome from the fury of Attila. What I wish to signify by these figures is that the natural and proper seat for the Pontiff is the *Urbs aeterna,* in the same way as it is the proper seat of the King of Italy; and the problem must always be put in these terms; the key of which is—according to my way of thinking—in the hands of the lower Italian clergy.

Those who believe that we ought, for the time being, to go on as well as we can, and those who dream of Avignon, and those who trust in the "irreligion of the future," make an exhibition of that stupid empiricism which has brought us to our present state of decay.

From this decay we must rise again in the great name of Rome.

Aurea Roma iterum renovata renascitur orbi.

It is not true that we must die, and that the whole land is but an immense morass, where the more efforts one makes to get out, the more one sinks into it. The living body of the nation is laboring in torment, as from a hidden inflammation, out of which some great fever is about to rise. Here and there are true and strong men, who work out their high purposes according to the moral needs of the times in which they live, whose actions develop themselves in subordination to an idea born in them "from contact with the earth," intent on surrounding their every moment with true harmony, and on attracting discordant movements opposed to them into that harmonious circle. And, from time to time, new aspirations are manifest in the mass of the nation itself towards simplicity and beauty; signs of a tormenting thirst, which the disgraceful drinks offered by those who make a pretence of ministering to it are not able to satisfy.

Have we not just lately seen the people of Italy stirred with noble feeling, at the sight of the wild and grand figure of one of her great painters stretched out in the eternity of death and glory? When Giovanni Segantini, the solitary king of the mountain, breathed his last on the Alps, sorrow, surprise and their dreams liberated the soul of the country, for one day at least, from the customary narrowness; and, in the short truce which bestowed the grace of poetry on it, Italy appeared to have found again in herself the sign of some of her previous aptitude, and to recognize her right to an ancient inheritance of which she had been despoiled. Perhaps she experienced the anxiety of one about

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to repossess a lost fortune. The great value of an example was brought down along the mountain side, in the midst of the storm, together with that grand dead body. Some of us were filled with love for solitude, and determined to lead a more simple life, and to engage in manly work. Some of us thought that there was everything to hope for and expect, if a race believed to be decrepit, if a nation believed to be exhausted and consumed, had been able to produce a specimen of humanity of such frank strength and simple ingenuity. "There is, then," thought some, "there is, then, an inexhaustible fund of creative power in our land, a hidden energy through which the life which is consumed in us is perpetually restored, through which the powerful bodies are secretly formed, the large hearts, the luminous spirits, which will suddenly cast their light over us, whilst the instruments of our imperfect work are about to fall from our wearied hands. It is true, then, that our land is still so rich as to be able to nourish the germs of highest hope."

The faith which Giuseppe Mazzini expressed in this sentence, is ours: "We religiously believe that Italy has not exhausted her own life in the world. She is still called to contribute new elements to the progressive development of humanity and to live a third life. We ought to aim at initiating it."

And let us also recall the words of another most noble lover of liberty, who died blind, and yet seeing: "Every new thing is old; every old thing is new: the sole path of truth is to see the one in the other."

The rules to which our weakness is at present subject are false and consequently failing. The Italians will not seek new rules except in the study of their own nature, of their history, of their thought, of their incomparable successive civilizations; so that the nation may expand in the unknown future not only by means of its own new forces, but of that faith and purpose which animated it in all the past centuries.

There is neither health nor beauty to be found except in man's unfettered endeavor, all his energy at work and turned in the direction which the infallible genius of the race points out to him. Like that Carlovingian knight, who inherited the strength of all the warriors overthrown by his lance, the man who deserves to live feels himself greater and stronger after every obstacle he overcomes.

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Let us glorify the life which ascends higher and higher! Let us extol the truth that sets us free!

I. The more man endeavors to increase his true being, the more worthy is he.

II. The fate of Italy is inseparable from the destinies of Beauty, her daughter.

III. The Latin genius can never regain its hegemony in the world except on condition of re-establishing the worship of a single purpose, and of holding as sacred the sentiment which in the ancient Latium inspired the *Terminalia*.

Through faith in these truths Italy will still be the most noble of nations. Picture to yourself the appearance of her beautiful body, out of which so many harvests, so many men of art, so many heroes have sprung! She lies at the centre of the places where the grandest human civilizations flourished and still flourish. As a link, she connects the West to the East by that *mare nostrum*, that Mediterranean, which bore on its waters "the most beautiful thing in the world, the Greek genius, and the grandest, the Roman peace." The formidable masses of her Alps seem to enter into the heart of Europe, whilst the winds of Africa and Asia warm her southern coasts. Different races, gentle and rough, agile and vigorous, all meet here and multiply. Most powerful institutions, whose influence has been world-wide, formed themselves within her confines, and lived and still live on her soil. Moral dominion appears to be her destiny. The greatest errors may darken, but cannot destroy, her genius. No other land is in such perfect harmony as Italy with the moral and mental structure of her great men. All her strength and all her beauty appear always to tend towards a supreme human expression. There was an hour of her history in which the harmony between herself and her progeny appeared as marvellously perfect, so that her natural forces and the living works of her sons adjusted thmselves to each other in an ineffable equilibrium. The hardness of her mountains, the flow of her rivers, the form of her valleys, could be recognized in the pulsations of her civil life.

If to-day this harmony is broken, shall we not be able to reconstitute it? Not we; but those who come after us. Not the men of to-morrow, perhaps, but those of a further future for sure.

Our own life must, then, be the worship of expectation.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

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PRESENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

BY BARONESS BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

LETTERS of condolence and of cynicism come to my desk in these latter days in increasing number. There is a note of triumph and of mockery in one group: "What has become of the famous Peace idea? The South African war, following immediately upon the close of the Peace Conference at The Hague, has not yet reached its end, and already the horizon in Eastern Asia is lurid with the glare of a world-war. Are you convinced now of the absurdity of your claims, ye dreamers of peace?" Through the second group runs an undertone of commiseration: "What suffering must have come to you, honored madame, and to your friends, in seeing your beautiful illusion shattered. Sad, sad; but thus it is. War is an historic law, and your ideals are simply —ideals. You will have to reef your sails in the face of such a storm of facts."

It is true that a feebly manned boat cannot battle against storm and surf. But the simile ill fits the effort to establish peace. That is no boat; it is a rock. The waves may top it with their wrathful spume, but naught can affect its granite permanence.

Let me set aside metaphor and reply to my correspondents. Let me endeavor to show them the point of view from which the advocates of peace regard the present condition of the world, and the nature of the duties and prospects, the hopes and self-denials to be descried therefrom.

In the first place, we admit candidly that we have been mistaken; not, however, in the principles we have enunciated, but in our estimate of present culture. We had regarded public conscience as being permeated by a longing for international right and by an abhorrence of despotism to a greater degree than the facts of the case warrant.

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The warlike events that surge about us and threaten us furnish no proof against the principles of the peace movement. They merely prove that these principles have not yet entered fully into the conscience of nations and of their leaders; that the movement is not yet sufficiently advanced in its spread, its organization, its methods of action, to verify the hopes fostered by the conference at The Hague for an early eradication of old, deeply-rooted institutions of brute force. In other words, we have been mistaken, not in the fundamental statements we have made, but in the conception that they were more widely accepted than they have proved to be.

These truths remain: (1.) Culture is synonymous with the repression of brute force; (2.) Nations are oppressed by their brazen breast-plate, and, if its weight increases, they will be crushed by it; (3.) Right relations are as possible between nations as they have gradually been proven to be between individuals, tribes, boroughs, cities and provinces; (4.) The abolition of war as a legal institution of human society, when such abolition is made a matter of principle, will result in undreamed-of increase of material wealth and moral elevation. All these truths, and many theories begotten of them, have not lost an iota of their logical content and of their blessed potentiality from the fact that foolish humanity, through its most powerful agents, government, church and press, still emphasizes dogmas opposed to them.

The advocates of peace maintain their principles. Not only so; they do not rest from their labors; they will not allow the results thus far obtained to slip from their grasp. The institutions created at The Hague, despite the resistance of bellicose Powers, are faithfully guarded by those who helped to create them. The Interparliamentary Union, now in session at Paris, has assumed the task of popularizing, developing and executing the Articles of The Hague. Their co-operators in England continue to protest against the South African war and the subjugation of the Boers, in spite of the supercilious jingoism of government and of the hypnosis of the masses. The Social Democrats, the Ethicists—men of independent tendencies, all of them—lift up warning voices against the fever of Imperialism in general, and specifically against the reckless love of adventure which first scents loot and then seeks revenge in expeditions against a country with four hundred million peace-loving inhabitants.

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To save, to save, to avert universal war—that is the purpose for which the enemies of war will strive untiringly until the very last moment. If their strength be insufficient, where shall we place the blame? The fault is not theirs. It rests with the millions of their contemporaries, who, though at heart they desire the same result, yet turn away in contempt or apathy from those who are laboring for it, instead of aiding these labors by the weight that lies in the consensus of the masses. With those who ignore, suspect and belittle the work of peace—even in cases where that work has brought about positive results, where it has matured practical propositions—instead of co-operating with sincere workers in their elaborations of these propositions and enforcing them with opponents—with those must the fault lie.

Great changes come to pass slowly, but in times like the present, when upheavals are fierce and dangers lie near, it might be hoped that swifter advances should be made in the conflict between the new and the old. Just as, immediately before the vote was taken on the Heinze law, a group of devoted men was formed to oppose that measure, which succeeded in defeating it, so, in the face of the present conspicuous and overwhelming manifestation of the principle of brute force, the friends of right might resolutely band themselves together, and, with shields upraised, declare a crusade for the liberation of politics from the thraldom of that immoral tradition.

Possibly the hope that such a step could be taken might again involve an over-estimate of our contemporaries. What matters it? Kant said: "Man cannot think too highly of man," and it is better to have erred in this direction than, by lukewarm doubt, to have condoned the fault of those here criticised.

What we see happening to-day furnishes proof, furnishes wonderfully objective illustrations and experimental demonstrations, not against, but in favor of our doctrines.

In the first place, let us consider the war in the Transvaal. True, it broke out immediately after the conference at The Hague, and in despite of the principles of arbitration and of mediation there announced, and subscribed to even by England herself. Yet it was no triumph for the dogma of the necessity of war; it was rather a triumph for the *advocates* of war. For our opponents, in giving voice to the slogan, "The South African war and the Chinese horrors were the direct result of the conference," com-

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mit—purposely, without a doubt—the blunder of confusing sequence in time with sequence of cause and effect. It is the familiar, senseless, exploded, *"Post hoc, ergo propter hoc."*

Seeds which lay slumbering in the world's soil long before the conference at The Hague sprouted in these two instances. For all that the conference itself could achieve was not in the nature of a harvest, but merely a sowing of seed.

The newly created institutions are not yet in operation, their spirit has not yet become incarnate in the flesh and blood of the nations, of potentates, of the press. And Mr. Chamberlain was able to accomplish his purpose, in spite of the pleading of Krüger for arbitration, even unto the last minute. Every intermediation was refused, and none was honestly and earnestly considered.

Several European rulers, who, as their panegyrists maintain, are soldiers, body and soul, had no desire to restrain the arm of England; they wished Queen Victoria success and noted the progress of the war with semi-joyous interest. But with the people of non-English countries there was pronounced opposition to this war; there was a manifestation of the very thing whereof we dream as a foundation of an alliance of European States, namely, a European conscience. This conscience rose in rebellion against the fact that a war of conquest should be waged in this our day; that a great country should seek to subjugate small, free republics. From every side came protests, petitions, actions of various sorts, to move the English to call a halt in this war. In England itself the peace party untiringly made remonstrances in this direction. The deeply rooted sentiment, "My country, right or wrong," had to give way to a sense of justice deeper still, and, as boldly as Zola and Picquart entered the lists against the General Staff, even so boldly did noted Englishmen battle against the imperialistic ministry of their native land. Ten years ago these things would not have happened. Neither Europe nor America would have opposed this war so determinedly; still less possibility would there have been of so powerful a counter-current as arose in England itself. All these things are symptoms of the new spirit.

But, in spite of the sentiment of the nations, the various governments have refrained from any peace-making intervention; and in London this attitude has been regarded as the correct one. But it was correct according to ancient standards only; it

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was in direct contravention to the new lines officially marked out at The Hague.

The progress of the war in the Transvaal has shown, forcibly and terribly, what a false relation the possible advantages of war bear to its positive disadvantages. Fifty thousand of her youth, healthy and vigorous youth, has England lost in the past ten months; sixty-one million pounds sterling of her national wealth have been wasted; the respect and sympathy of the world have been recklessly sacrificed; the character of the nation has been brutalized by the passions aroused, and freedom, the pride of the British people, freedom of speech, as well as freedom of the individual, has been imperilled, for even now the spectre of conscription is raising its head. The fruits of half a century of national education have been destroyed in this one attack of war-fever. And in place of the great, submarine Channel-tunnel already planned, the fortification of Dover has been begun. India is devastated by a famine, and the money wasted in South Africa for the destruction of human life might have saved the famished ones.

And the end, the "bitter end," of this campaign is not yet. There are no more decisive battles fought nowadays, even where one side has overwhelming force. There is nothing now save mutual extermination of the troops in the field, devastation of the land in which the combat takes place, cessation of commerce, danger of further complications and the carrying of infectious diseases into other lands.

The reports of Mr. Burdett-Coutts in the House of Commons in reference to the horrible condition of the sick and wounded in South Africa are a confirmation of what the advocates of peace have constantly voiced, namely, that, with our present means of destruction and our present methods of warfare, sanitation is an illusion.

And then came the news of the insurrection of the Boxers and the massacres of the missionaries in China. This, too, is the harvest of seed sown in Europe in these latter years. Apart from the fact that hatred of strangers is a barbarism, concerning which we lack the right to grow indignant so long as the story of anti-Semitic riots and expulsion of foreigners has a place upon European annals, everything was done by Europeans in China to arouse a righteous hatred of foreigners there. Dogmas and wares

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have been thrust upon the Chinese; there has been contemptuous treatment, appropriation of territory, open declarations as to the partition of China, backed by plans for the building of fleets. And running side by side with these things, in constant confirmation of mercenary greed and of militarism, with an inherent, blind tendency to expansion, the peaceable, non-military Empire was supplied with guns and cannons from our own factories and with instructors from our barracks.

Well, what matters it? No one cares to bother with the intricately interwoven network of origins and causes back of it all. Here were we faced by facts—a country in wild uproar, the government overthrown or in league with the rebels against foreigners, the legations bombarded, Ketteler murdered—such facts require action.

Here the opponents of the peace movement seem to be in the right. Surely, it is impossible to quietly look on while such things are happening; there is no opportunity for arbitration. What is there left but war? Is not that in some cases the only resource, the *"ultima ratio?"* Now, are ye convinced, ye dreamers, that conditions may at any time arise which will force upon men a resort to arms? Therefore there must be no cessation of armaments, no relaxation in the cultivation of a warlike spirit. Confess that you are beaten, that you have no answer.

Nay, but we do answer. As a well-ordered State maintains a police force to execute the decrees of its judges, to secure robbers and maniacs, to overpower mobs that throw stones and apply torches, to protect those who are persecuted by violence, so would an alliance of Culture-States, such as we contemplate, require an armed force to serve international right as an executive power. Power in the service of the right differs essentially from the power which pronounces all its decisions and purposes to be right. The individuals of a community are not as yet so virtuous, so rational, and so reliable as to render unnecessary every kind of protection and punishment. It is the same with nations. The nations of the earth are not as yet so cultured and so peaceable that a union of nations could exist without a tribunal or an armed force.

What has come to pass before our eyes? Spontaneously, without previous agreement, all nations decided to hurry their ships and troops to the relief of those whose lives were in danger; to punish the criminals, to restore order in the convulsed Empire of

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China; to re-establish organized government there. And since such an enterprise can succeed only when it is undertaken unanimously, there was suddenly formed a "world army," a confraternity of previously antagonistic nations, to battle side by side in the name of civilization against an outburst of barbarism. Thus has the impulse of events begun the realization of that fundamental requirement urged by the advocates of the peace movement from the very first—unanimity among the Culture-States, a comradeship of co-operation, a setting aside of conflicting individual rights in the service of a higher solidarity of interest.

This solidarity of interest has now been recognized in the face of the Chinese danger. We recognized it long ago in the face of the danger of militarism. The threatened world-war, the ruin that impended, seemed to us such an abomination of barbarism, and the prevention of that calamity so imperative a duty of civilization, that conflicts of interest and all little bickerings and minor contentions might well be set aside.

A campaign carried on with a common mind and for a common purpose, such as that undertaken in China, would not have been prevented if it had been preceded by a cessation of further armaments, as suggested by Russia at The Hague, or even by a decided reduction of the standing armies. For—let my readers note carefully this fact—the "Culture-Army," the police of international civilization, needs but be composed of a small but representative section of the various nations. The entire available force of Europe, America and Japan could not be sent to China at present, at any rate. When arms are used in the service of right only, the power of such police, or, instead of police—for the word has an unpleasant sound—let us say of such a knighthood of culture, would be overwhelming. For crime—within the limits of a civilized community this holds true as well—is usually committed by single individuals or small bands. It is the same among nations. If questions of common morals arose, whose validity is recognized as of interest to all, every single disturber of the peace, every single tyrant, every single land-grabber would be resisted in the execution of his purpose and would be punished by all. Had all civilized nations hastened to the aid of the Armenians,* had

*Let it not be objected that a "man's house is his castle," and that interference with internal affairs is excluded with nations as it is with individuals. Massacres are not internal affairs. If one man throws down an-

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they all advised Spain to relinquish Cuba, or hindered America in its desire to subjugate the Philippines; had they all insisted that England must listen to Krüger's proposals for arbitration, the cruelties and conflicts of the latest slaughters of multitudes could have been avoided. Different nations can advance with united purpose against a common danger, and they can do so by means of the very elements that otherwise support and foster antagonism, namely, by means of their armies. Twice has this been demonstrated; once not long ago in Crete, and now in China. The German Kaiser could command the troops he sent to Eastern Asia to fight shoulder to shoulder with Frenchmen, Russians and Japanese. And it has been possible to appoint one general for this international army.

The possibility that all Culture-States can enter into an alliance, though contested by our opponents, has been proven in fact. Humanity is forced into solidarity by normal evolution along the lines of natural law. What the force of circumstances has brought about could have been accomplished by free will and design, and, so accomplished, it would have been more systematically done, and would have rested upon more secure foundations.

And now, no one has faith in the present casual and transient coalition, and many prophesy that the Powers will quarrel over China, and that the long-dreaded world-conflict will arise in consequence. This, too, is used as an argument against us. "A concert? Unanimity? The slightest disturbance unhinges it all. Rivalry is aroused. No one Power is willing to grant the other a privilege or an advantage. When the coalition campaign has reached its end, or even before that, conflicting interests will assert themselves and the European war will be upon us."

True, that war will break out, if there be no forum for the settlement of chance contentions, a forum which, by common agreement, would adjust all differences. Everything goes to prove how necessary such a forum is. The sad fact that it is not as yet in operation surely does not militate, in the least, against the possibility or the utility of the establishment of such a tribunal. The foundation of it was laid at The Hague. That it is generally ignored demonstrates the fact that militarism struggles against an institution which would undermine war.

other in my neighbor's house and is preparing to kill him, and the victim's cries reach my ears, it is not a breach of the peace if I hasten to help him or call the police.

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The question, "How in the world do you propose to prevent war in the face of the present upheaval in China?" has been thus answered by Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Corresponding Secretary of the American Peace Society:

"We have been asked how we would have settled the present trouble in China without war. That is as if one were to ask how we would prevent a fire when the flames were already bursting from all the windows. The settlement of the trouble by us without war would have required, first of all, that it be turned over to us for settlement, or that the powers involved in it would agree conscientiously to follow, in their efforts at adjustment, the principles and methods which we might suggest. The utter impossibility of either of these contingencies in the case of the trouble with China shows the thoughtlessness of the question.

"The time to have begun the pacific settlement of the difficulty was many years ago. Given certain conditions, practices and beliefs, such as have for a long time existed in the relations of the other countries to China, and war or something like it was inevitable. No advocate of peace has ever been simple enough to imagine that war can be avoided when every condition leading to good understanding and peace has been neglected or trampled under foot."

Another point steadily maintained by the advocates of peace and denied by their adversaries has come clearly to light in these latter days, namely, that wars are instigated and brought to their culmination by certain influential men without the slightest reference to the people, to parliaments or to the choicest spirits of the nations. What has been decided upon by the powers that be, what has been mapped out by "Cabinets," is promulgated as an accomplished fact, approved by the chorus of a servile press, and, if it can be made sensational, cheered by an enthusiastic mob. How necessary that every land should have a ministry of peace, an official organism representing the interests of peace, under whose protection that portion of public opinion which is averse to war might make itself heard. How essential an independent, ethically elevated press, conscious of the duty growing out of its power, the duty to guide the people in the way of unity, of conciliation, of a just consideration of both sides of a quarrel—in short, in the way of peace, the only way worthy of civilization and culture. The opposite is true. The political press, in a ponderous majority, is to-day a forge for the heating of the irons of war.

Current events reveal the fact that our system is not being put in practice, but they reveal no flaws or contradictions in the sys-

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tem itself, for it has none. Without a flaw or contradiction it harmonizes with the law of evolution. The new age—with its advance in technical inventions (with especial reference to the possibility of the slaughter of masses), with its ties of international solidarity, its reciprocal economic interdependencies, its sublimated ethical requirements—has outgrown the system of war, and outgrows it more and more daily. This truth is set forth, as it were, in an object-lesson in the rush of action upon the stage of the world's theatre. On the other hand, take the war in the Transvaal. What economic losses (to say nothing of the moral loss) to England and to the rest of the world has it involved; and the end of the war is not yet in sight, in spite of the fact that England outnumbers her adversaries ten to one. That war and the Chinese problem both show that the nations are being mechanically driven to the position which the advocates of peace have suggested as the only one that can be taken as a result of the exercise of free will and rationality, namely, coalition, surrender of secondary specific interests and contentions for the sake of a higher common interest, of culture and humanity, and the creation of a "world-army."

The position into which the Powers are mechanically forced, which in its external form seems to adjust itself to the demands of the peace idea, is not yet permeated by the *spirit* of the idea; not yet based upon the firm groundwork of institutions of peace. It is filled with militarism, confused with military projects and national antagonisms.

The contrast between war and culture is more definitely set forth than could be done in volumes of essays and of peace literature in the addresses and newspaper articles which accompany the sending forth of the "Army of Humanity." The emphasis placed upon the help of God, upon the religion of love and of tenderness, and the synchronous emphasis placed upon revenge and threats of horrors, have never been in so glaring a contrast. A clinging to old ideals of force, reference to the thought that, a thousand years *hence,* one member of the human family shall tremble before another, as men did a thousand years *ago* under the lash of Attila; the recommendation on the part of various journals of methods of retaliation savoring of the wildest of savagery, the slaughter of masses of men, desecration of sanctuaries and graves, etc., and all these proposed as a means of

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spreading civilization; all this must needs be recognized by the world at large as strident dissonance.

And what has brought the world to this recognition? The principles of the peace-movement. Denied as they are, they have sunk deep into the conscience of the age. The community of interests in the world has also had its share in effecting this result. This has reached such a degree that a change from conditions of might to conditions of right has become a positive necessity, an essential of life. What stands revealed in the peace-movement is not the dream of supramundane fancy, but a manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation in civilization.

BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

"IN TERRA PAX."

BY G. LEVESON GOWER.

War in men's mouths, peace through the spring-clad land;
Hate in men's hearts, and love in God's high heaven;
Yet in the mass already works the leaven,
And in the nations some cry, "Hold your hand,
Ye Peoples! Turn not Earth into a hell!"
Already breaks the light when some can see
The change to come, the order new to be,
And, seeing evil, will not say, "'Tis well!"
O! for some high tribunal of the world
Where arms are stilled and equal law bears sway,
The strong aggressor from his vantage hurled,
The wronged upheld in the full light of day!
Then shall the Earth at rest yield glad increase,
And through all seas and every land be Peace!

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A CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

AMONG the wonderful developments of the nineteenth century, none is more marvellous than that of its commerce, which has increased more than a thousand per cent., while population was increasing less than one hundred and fifty per cent. This is due, in part, at least, to the fact that commerce has taken advantage of all the other wonderful developments with which the century has been crowded. Ever watchful, ever alert, and ever willing to hazard expenditure for the sake of prospective gain, it has fostered, developed, and adapted to its own use every discovery and invention which human energy, ingenuity and science have brought to the front. From the exchange of a few articles of luxury, carried on the backs of animals or in slow sailing vessels, it has expanded until it now interchanges the products of all lands and all climes, utilizing the swiftly moving railway train by land, and the scarcely less swift steamer by sea; and exchanges which occupied months at the opening of the century are now effected in days or weeks. Business messages then sent by carrier and sailing vessels took a year to reach the Orient and obtain a reply, while now but a few minutes or hours suffice for a similar service. Purchases of goods which then involved a transfer of cash or commodities in which weeks or months were consumed are now arranged by telegraph and banks in minutes or hours; while the transfer of the merchandise is a matter of hours or days. From the narrow frontage of land along the ocean, or along watercourses whose products could enter into the commerce of the then known world, the seaboard has been extended landward indefinitely by the railway, while the carrying capacity and speed of the ocean vessel have been correspondingly increased.

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Instead of the pack animal which could carry but a few hundred pounds, or the wagon which could at the best transport a ton of merchandise, the railway car accepts as much as twenty teams could haul, and the engine hurries from twenty to thirty of these cars to the ocean, a thousand miles away, where the steamship calmly swallows the loads of twenty or thirty of these trains, and steams across the ocean at almost the same speed with which the merchandise was transported to the water's edge; while, before it has passed out of sight of land, the consignee on the other side of the globe has received notice of its departure, of the cargo it carries, and of the day and almost the hour at which he may expect its arrival.

Meantime, discovery and invention have multiplied the producing capacity of these greatly increased areas. The shuttle has supplied fabrics more cheaply than the cheapest hand labor could produce. Machinery and agricultural science have increased the products of the soil and transformed into merchandise that which was formerly refuse. Science has explored the earth and brought forth the precious and industrial metals, while invention has vied with art in transforming these products into articles which have become necessities of life and which have in turn contributed to the productiveness of the human race in all climes and conditions, thus multiplying commerce as well as production.

Thus, all the great developments of this wonderful century have combined to aid commerce, and articles which, at its beginning, were luxuries enjoyed only by the rich are now considered necessaries by the masses. The natural products of the tropics have become the necessities of the temperate zone, and the manufactures of the temperate zone are demanded for daily life in the tropics. The grain-producing areas of the newer countries contribute to the food supply of the Old World, and take in exchange the products of its work shops; and the Orient yields its silks, teas and spices in exchange for our foodstuffs, machinery, and manufactures. Meantime, Finance, with its consummate art of balancing commodity against commodity and exchange against exchange, sits aloft and with golden reins skilfully guides the transactions which steam and electricity thus make possible, balancing the sales of one country against the purchases of another, weighing the value of this and measuring the usefulness of that, bringing order out of what appears endless confusion and

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hopeless disorder, and by its skilful, complex and silent machinery making possible this enormous exchange of commodities with the transfer of the smallest possible proportion of circulating medium.

To measure accurately the commerce of the world, even in this day of improved business conditions, when the gathering of statistics has become a science and measures of value are reduced to a common denominator (gold), is difficult. That such attempts must have been much more difficult a century ago is so apparent that the fact need scarcely be mentioned as an apology for the use of estimates in regard to some portion of the earlier commerce of the century. Indeed, the fact that this method is still necessary with reference to certain remote spots in the commercial world shows how large a proportion of the statements of the world's commerce in the earlier years of the century must have been estimates, in many cases even conjecture. Yet there is no better method of reaching conclusions with regard to the early commerce of the century than to accept the estimates made by thoughtful men who had given years—lifetimes indeed—to the study of the subject; and, in this attempt to contrast conditions at the close of the century with those at its beginning, these estimates have been accepted as the best and, in fact, the only means of approximating the movement of merchandise between nations and grand divisions in those days when Governments and trade organizations and financial interests were but beginning to realize the importance of comprehensive and accurate statements upon this subject. The interchange of commodities throughout the commercial world at the beginning of the century is estimated at $1,500,000,000 in value, and at the end of the century seems likely to be fully $20,000,000,000. Meantime, the population, which is estimated by Malte-Brun at 640,000,000 in 1804, is now estimated in round terms at about 1,500,000,000, the increase in population having thus been 135 per cent., while the increase in commerce has been 1,233 per cent. While these statements of the commerce of the earlier years of the century are necessarily estimates in many cases, the fact that the Oriental countries had little commercial intercourse with the outside world, or even with one another, and that the chief commerce of the world was carried on by a few nations whose transactions in these lines could be measured with a fair degree of accuracy, seems to justify an acceptance of these statements as, probably, fairly accurate.

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An attempt to trace the commerce of the century by decades is even more difficult, because the occasional and semi-occasional estimates, especially those made of population, do not in all cases fall upon the year ending a decade—a circumstance which creates the further necessity of making new estimates for the decennial periods based upon those actually made by experts at the years nearest to those dates. The estimates of population made during the century are those of Malte-Brun, Balbi, Michelet, Behm-Wagner, and Levasseur; and, accepting these authorities as presenting the best obtainable guide, and the estimates made by Kaier, Palgrave, Mulhall and Keltie of the commerce by decades, it is practicable, at least, to approach the average commerce, *per capita,* of the world at decennial periods during the century. This calculation gives the average *per capita* commerce, combining imports and exports to obtain the total commerce, at $2.31 *per capita* in 1800, $2.34 in 1830, $3.76 in 1850, $6.01 in 1860, $8.14 in 1870, $10.26 in 1880, $11.84 in 1890, and $13.27 in 1899.

What has caused this wonderful increase in the world's interchange of commodities, by which the commerce for each individual in the world is now practically six times as much as it was a hundred years ago, if we accept these estimates made by the most distinguished experts of the century? One need not go far to find an answer to this inquiry. Increased areas of production, increased facilities for transporting the products of different sections and climes, increased power of communication between men in various parts of the world, and, coupled with these, the great underlying principle of specialization of labor and products have led to this wonderful development of interchange among nations and peoples, by which articles most readily produced in one part of the world are exchanged for those most readily produced in another part. The great fertile plains of North America, South America, Australia and Russia have become the world's producers of grain and provisions, and are increasing their supplies of the textiles and their supplies of the foodstuffs required by all the world in manufacturing or for daily consumption; while the Orient stands ready with its silks and teas, and Africa tenders its gold and diamonds and ivory and native tropical products, all of which articles are required by the great manufacturing centres of the United States and Europe,

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which furnish in exchange their manufactures of cotton, wool, silk, wood, iron and steel.

Thus commerce is constantly increasing its volume by its own activity. The machinery produced by the manufacturing section enables one man in the great grain fields of America to produce as much as a dozen or a score could produce by old methods at the beginning of the century or even later. The machinery of the factory enables a single individual to multiply many times his power of producing the articles required by his fellowmen. Exploration, colonization and investment of capital have greatly increased the producing area of the tropical section of the world. Added to all these, and making practicable the interchange of articles whose production is thus so enormously increased, is the increased power of transportation, communication, and financial adjustment which the second half of the century has developed.

Five great causes enter into, and combine to create, the wonderful development of the century's commerce. They may be stated in five words: steam, electricity, invention, finance, peace. The effect upon commerce of the use of steam as a motive power can scarcely be realized, until the progress of its development is compared with the progress of commerce. Then it is seen that the marked advance in the interchange of commodities was simultaneous with the development of the steamship and railway, and that the growth of the one was coincident with that of the other. The application of steam to transportation of merchandise by rail began in England in 1825, and in the United States in 1830, the number of miles of railway in the world in 1830 being about 200. In that year, the world's commerce, according to the best estimates obtainable, was $1,981,000,000 as against $1,659,000,000 in 1820, an increase in the decade of barely seventeen per cent., while in the preceding decades of the century the increase had been even less. By 1840, railways had increased to 5,420 miles, and commerce had increased to $2,789,000,000, an increase of forty per cent. From 1840 to 1850, railways increased to 23,960 miles, and commerce had increased to $4,049,000,000, a gain of forty-five per cent. By 1860, the railways had increased to 67,350 miles and commerce to $7,246,000,000, an increase of seventy-nine per cent. By 1870, the railroads had increased to 139,860 miles and commerce to $10,663,000,000; by 1880, the railroads had increased to 224,900 miles and commerce to $14,761,000,000;

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by 1890, the lines of railroad amounted to 390,000 miles and commerce to $17,519,000,000, and, in 1898, the railroad lines aggregated 442,200 miles, and commerce $19,915,000,000. A single instance will indicate the development which the railroad gives to the commerce of a country. India, with three hundred millions of population and 22,000 miles of railway, has seen her commerce increase nearly sixty per cent. in the past twenty-five years, while that of China, with four hundred millions of people, but no railways, has increased but about thirty per cent. in that time.

In the meanwhile steam had also revolutionized the carrying trade on the ocean. The first steamship crossed the ocean in 1819, and the total steam tonnage afloat in 1820 is estimated at 20,000 tons, against 5,814,000 of sail tonnage. By 1840, steam tonnage had increased to 368,000, while sail had grown to 9,012,000; by 1860, steam had reached 1,710,000, while sail was 14,890,000; by 1870, steam tonnage was 3,040,000, and sail had dropped to 13,000,000; by 1880, steam had become 5,880,000, and sail 14,400,000; by 1890, steam had reached 9,040,000, and sail had dropped to 12,640,000; and, in 1898, the steam tonnage was estimated at 13,045,000, and the sail tonnage at 11,045,000. The rapidity of growth of steam transportation, however, can only be realized when it is remembered that the steam vessel, by reason of its superior speed, size and ability to cope with all kinds of weather, is able to make four times as many voyages in a year as a sailing vessel, and that, in comparing the steam tonnage of the late decades with the sail tonnage of the earlier ones, the former must be multiplied by four to give it a proper comparison with the unit of sail tonnage. Reducing the steam tonnage to that of the standard of measurement at the beginning of the century, we find that the carrying power of vessels on the ocean had increased from 4,026,000 tons in 1800 to 10,482,000 in 1840, 21,730,000 in 1860, 37,900,000 in 1880, 48,800,000 in 1890, and 63,225,000 in 1898-9, of which last enormous total but 11,450,000 was sailing tonnage. Not only has greater carrying power come on land and sea, but with it increased speed and safety. A century ago the voyage to Europe occupied over a month, and was a cause for constant anxiety as to the life of those travelling and the cargo carried by the vessel; now, it is a holiday excursion of five days, in which there is no more thought of danger than on the cycle path or on the elevated railway. News of the West India hur-

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ricane in 1818 reached the United States full thirty days after its occurrence, while Havana is to-day less than forty-eight hours from New York. The first vessel from New York to China occupied fifteen months on its round trip, and a voyage to the Orient, before the introduction of steam, occupied from eight to twelve months for the round trip, while now it can be accomplished both ways in a little over one month. Not only have recent years brought increased speed and facility in the moving of commerce, but, with that, increased safety, thus reducing the danger of loss of both life and property; while, in the matter of cost, the reduction has been enormous, many articles which then could not possibly bear the cost of transportation, now forming an important part of the world's commerce. Even in sailing vessels, which still perform about one-fourth of the world's sea transportation, steam is being utilized to perform many duties formerly accomplished by hand-power, such as the hoisting of heavy sails, the steering of the vessels, and the handling of cargoes; and thus, as the size of the sailing vessels is increased, the number of men required to manage them is reduced.

Still another influence which steam has given to commerce is the resultant increase in the quantity of goods offered for transportation. The great areas far removed from water transportation could never have been able to contribute to the world's supply of breadstuffs without the railway to transport their products to the water's edge, and the capacity of men for production of foodstuffs or manufactures, which form the bulk of the world's commerce, has been multiplied by the aid of steam in the workshop, and even on the great farms, where steam ploughs, steam wagons and steam threshers increase the producing power of man, and reduce the cost of the product which he sends around the world for daily consumption by millions who could not have afforded its use in the early years of the century.

Electricity, whose use in behalf of commerce was nearly contemporaneous with steam, has also performed an important part in increasing the activity and volume of commerce. The merchant who desired to send a cargo across the ocean or to the other side of the globe did so formerly at great risk as to prices, or else after long correspondence and vexatious delays. Now, not only the dealer in the cities, but the very farmer who grows the grain, or the workman who produces the iron and steel, knows this even-

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ing what was its price in the markets of London and other parts of the world this morning. The merchant who desires to sell in Europe may contract his goods before shipping, and those who would make purchases in the Orient or the tropics can give their orders to-day, with the confidence that the goods will start to-morrow and reach them at a fixed date in time for the markets at their most favorable season. The growth of the telegraph and ocean cable has, like that of the railway and steamship, been contemporaneous with the growth of commerce. The first telegraph for commercial purposes was constructed in 1844, and so quickly did its influence become apparent that several thousand miles were in existence by 1850, while by 1860 the total had reached nearly 100,000 miles, by 1870 280,000 miles, by 1880 440,000 miles, by 1890 768,000 miles, and to-day the total reaches a million miles. Submarine cables, by which the international commerce is guided and multiplied, date from 1851, in which year twenty-five miles were put into operation across the English Channel. By 1860 the total length of successful lines was about 1,500 miles, though one cable laid across the Atlantic and another through the Red and Arabian Seas, meantime, had worked long enough to prove the practicability of the enterprise. By 1870, the submarine cables in operation amounted to about 15,000 miles; by 1880, to about 50,000 miles; by 1890, to 132,000 miles, and by 1898, to 170,000 miles, the number of messages transmitted on them being six millions a year, while those by the land telegraphs are estimated at one million per day, the greater proportion of both being in the service of commerce.

Invention has also contributed largely to the development of commerce, both directly and indirectly. What share it has had in that wonderful growth can scarcely be estimated; but, when we consider to what an extent the development of manufactures, as well as of agriculture, has been the result of labor-saving machinery and ingenious devices of men, it is apparent that to invention is due much, very much, of the enormous increase of production, and consequently the increase of exchange from section to section and from continent to continent. The cotton gin, which had but begun to make itself felt at the beginning of the century, the reaping and threshing machines, by which labor of grain producing is greatly reduced, the application of machinery to mining operations and the handling of the product of the mines, the

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engines—those powerful and intricate machines—which transport the merchandise to the seaboard, and the railways on which they run, the steamships, the screw propeller, the iron and steel vessels and the thousands of articles from the factory which form an important part of the cargoes which they carry—all these are the inventions of the century, and all have contributed greatly to the producing and transporting power of man, and consequently to the multiplication of the commodities which he produces and exchanges.

Finance and financiers have contributed enormously to the growth of the commerce of the century. The gold discoveries in California and Australia, and later in other parts of the world, have greatly increased the volume of the circulating medium and encouraged the creation of a single and well defined standard of value, so that the merchant may make his sales and purchases with an assurance that payments will be made in a measure of value acceptable to the whole world, and losses and uncertainty of traffic thus avoided. The supply of this precious metal has increased enormously during the century. Chevalier estimated that the amount of gold in Europe in 1492 was but $60,000,000. From that time to the beginning of the century, the average gold production was about eight millions a year; from 1800 to 1850, about 15 millions a year; and, since that date, it has ranged steadily upward, until it has reached over 300 millions a year, thus multiplying many times the stock of the standard metal of the world. The result of this is that 95 per cent. of the commerce of the world is now carried on between nations having a fixed and well regulated currency, with gold as the standard. Add to this fact the developments of the financial and credit systems, by which sums due in one part of the world are balanced against those due in another part, and by the use of simple pieces of paper the transportation of any considerable sums of money from place to place and country to country avoided, and it will be seen that Finance has had much to do with the century's commercial growth.

"Peace," it has been said, "hath her victories no less renowned than war," and peace has doubtless been an important factor in the wonderful development of the century's commerce. Nothing so quickly affects commerce as protracted warfare. This was particularly noticeable in the early part of the century, when the seizure of vessels, the impressment of seamen, and the general

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destruction of commerce—not only the commerce of the enemy but, in many cases, that of any others against whom the slightest suspicion could be charged—practically suspended European commerce. In addition to this, the danger from pirates, which then constantly existed in certain parts of the ocean, was increased during war times. During the first fifteen years of the century, British, French, and finally all European vessels were practically prohibited from engaging in commerce by the Napoleonic wars, and the commerce of the world was largely thrown into the hands of our own shipping, until the war of 1812 and the events immediately preceding it. With the advance of the century, wars became less frequent, and of shorter duration when entered upon; while piracy has been generally suppressed, international laws for the protection of shipping enacted, and regulations established for the protection of those engaging in commerce. Not only has the actual loss from these causes been materially reduced, but the increased safety and absence of danger from losses have encouraged the increase in shipping and in commerce itself.

Many other causes might be named as contributing largely to the wonderful increase in commerce during the century. The area under cultivation in Europe, America, and Australia is estimated to have increased from 360 million to nearly 900 million acres; the coal mines have increased their output from 11 million to 600 million tons; pig-iron production has grown from 460,000 tons to 37 millions; cotton production has increased from 520 million to 5,900 million pounds; while the value of manufactures has increased perhaps a thousand fold in the hundred years. But all these are the results in a greater or less degree of the five great causes named above. Another cause which is frequently urged as contributing largely to the increase of commerce in the middle part of the century, is the repeal of navigation laws and excessive tariffs. While this is, doubtless, entitled to consideration, it is difficult to measure the share which it had in the development of that period. Steam, electricity, and gold discoveries were at that moment combining to stimulate commerce, while the fact that the growth of international commerce has been continued in the face of the return to protective duties by most of the commercial nations except Great Britain, adds to the difficulty of determining how far these important occurrences were factors in the growth of international trade of that time.

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The following table indicates the growth of the commerce of the world during the century which is about to close:

THE WORLD'S COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

		Commerce.		Shipping.		
Year.	Population.	Aggregate. Dollars.	Per Capita. Dollars.	Sail. Tons.	Steam. Tons.	Carrying Power. Tons.
1800.....	(a) 640,000,000	1,479,000,000	2.31	4,026,000	None	4,026,000
1820.....	(b) 780,000,000	1,659,000,000	2.13	5,814,000	20,000	5,894,000
1830.....	(b) 847,000,000	1,981,000,000	2.34	7,100,000	107,000	7,528,000
1840.....	(c) 950,000,000	2,789,000,000	2.93	9,012,000	368,000	10,482,000
1850.....	(c) 1,075,000,000	4,049,000,000	3.76	11,470,000	858,000	14,902,000
1860.....	(c) 1,205,000,000	7,246,000,000	6.01	14,890,000	1,710,000	21,730,000
1870.....	(d) 1,310,000,000	10,663,000,000	8.14	12,900,000	3,040,000	25,100,000
1880.....	(e) 1,439,000,000	14,761,000,000	10.26	14,400,000	5,880,000	37,900,000
1890.....	(f) 1,488,000,000	17,519,000,000	11.80	12,640,000	9,040,000	48,800,000
1898.....	1,500,000,000	19,915,000,000	13.27	11,045,000	13,045,000	63,200,000

Year.	Railways (g). Miles.	Telegraphs. Miles.	Cables. Miles.	Area. Cultivated. Acres (g).
1800.....	None	None	None	360,000,000
1820.....	None	None	None	402,000,000
1830.....	210	None	None	.....
1840.....	5,420	None	None	492,000,000
1850.....	23,960	5,000	25	.....
1860.....	67,350	99,800	1,500	583,000,000
1870.....	139,860	281,000	15,000	.....
1880.....	224,900	440,000	49,000	749,000,000
1890.....	390,000	767,800	132,000	807,000,000
1898.....	442,200	933,000	168,000	861,000,000

Year.	Cotton Production. Pounds (g).	Coal Production. Tons.	Pig Iron Production. Tons (g).	Gold Production of Decade ending with year (h). Dollars (h).
1800.....	520,000,000	11,600,000	460,000	128,464,000
1820.....	630,000,000	17,200,000	1,010,000	76,063,000
1830.....	820,000,000	25,100,000	1,585,000	94,419,000
1840.....	1,310,000,000	44,800,000	2,680,000	134,841,000
1850.....	1,435,000,000	81,400,000	4,422,000	363,928,000
1860.....	2,551,000,000	142,300,000	7,180,000	1,333,981,000
1870.....	2,775,000,000	213,400,000	11,910,000	1,263,015,000
1880.....	3,601,000,000	340,000,000	18,140,000	1,150,814,000
1890.....	5,600,000,000	466,000,000	25,160,000	1,060,052,000
1898.....	5,900,000,000	610,000,000	37,150,000	1,950,000,000

(a) Malte-Brun's estimate for 1804.
(b) Based on Balbi's estimate for 1828.
(c) Based on Michelet's estimate for 1845.
(d) Based on Behm-Wagner estimate for 1874.
(e) Levasseur's estimate for 1878.
(f) Royal Geographical Society estimate.
(g) Mulhall's estimates, except 1830, 1890 and 1898.
(h) Saetbeer's estimates prior to 1860.

To discuss the part which the various nations have had in this commerce, the relations of imports to exports, or the classes of articles exchanged between the great sections of the globe, would carry this study beyond reasonable limits. In all of the above statements, the term "commerce" has covered both exports and imports, and has included the exchange of merchandise between nation and nation throughout the entire world, wherever records

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of such commerce are attainable. And while it is quite probable that the development of business and statistical methods throughout the world has made it practicable for the inquirer of to-day to bring into the grand total the commerce of some countries whose business could only be estimated in the earlier part of the period, it is also likely that the reduction in prices of the merchandise whose value only is stated fully offsets any increase in the closeness with which the field has been gleaned, and that the figures represent with a fair degree of accuracy the relative quantity of merchandise moved at the various periods under discussion. While the fact that the exports of each nation always become the imports of some other nation, would suggest that export and import ought to balance each other in the grand aggregate, it is found that they do not, since the freight, insurance, and brokerage are in most cases added to the export price in naming the value of the goods where they become an import, thus making the stated value of the world's import usually from five to ten per cent. in excess of the stated value of the exports.

The United States has performed well her part in the century's development of the world's commerce. While the total commerce of the world has grown from $1,479,000,000 to $19,915,000,000, that of the United States has increased from $162,000,000 to over $2,000,000,000, while the ratio of increase in exports of domestic merchandise is even much greater. Indeed, the figures of our commerce for the first year and decade of the century are quite misleading for comparative purposes, as they include large quantities of foreign goods brought to our ports by our vessels and merely declared as entries, while in fact they in many cases never left shipboard and only entered nominally into our commerce, because of their being carried by our vessels. This was due to the fact that European nations which had very rigorous laws prohibiting the carrying by foreign vessels of commerce between their own ports and colonies, were willing to suspend the action of these laws while the war prevented them from doing their own carrying trade. The result of this was that, during the first decade of the century, our reported exports of foreign goods amounted to as much as those of domestic products, and in some years actually exceeded them, while now they only amount to about two per cent. of our total exports. Comparing the commerce in domestic goods during 1899 with that of 1800, it is

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found that the percentage of increase is very much greater than that shown by the world's total commerce.

In general, it may be said of our commerce of 1900, that the imports are about ten times as much as in 1800, and the exports twenty times as much as the nominal figure of 1800.

What of the coming century? Can its commerce, and all those conveniences of traffic and intercourse which go to stimulate and create commerce, show such a marvellous growth as that of the century about to end? It seems almost impossible, yet no more impossible than the growth which has actually occurred during this century would have appeared had it been predicted at its beginning. Aërial navigation may, long before the end of another century, aid in the transportation of men and mails and the lighter articles of commerce to areas not supplied with other means of transportation; a similar service may be performed between great distributing centres by huge pneumatic tubes, a mere development of the system which now prevails for shorter distances in great cities; wireless telegraphy will communicate with all sections of the world; electricity will transfer to convenient points the power created by countless waterfalls now inaccessible for manufacturing purposes; steamships will develop their carrying powers and multiply communications between continents and great trading centres; a ship canal will connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific; and vessels circumnavigating the globe in the interests of commerce may take further advantage of currents of air and water which move ever westward as the earth revolves ever toward the east; other ship canals will connect our Great Lakes with the ocean, and steamships from Europe and the Mediterranean countries and the Orient will land their merchandise at the docks of Chicago and Duluth, and the other great commercial cities of our inland seas; a great railway system will stretch from South America to Bering Straits, thence down the eastern coast of Siberia, through China, Siam, Burmah, across India, Persia, Arabia, past the pyramids of Egypt to the westermost point of Africa, where only 1,600 miles of ocean will intervene to prevent the complete encircling of the earth with a belt of steel, whose branches will penetrate to every habitable part of every continent, and place men of all climes and all nations and all continents in constant communication with each other and facilitate the interchange of commodities between them.

O. P. AUSTIN.

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THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN JAPAN.

BY COUNT OKUMA, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN.

MUCH has been said by many writers of note about the Restoration of 1868 being the greatest political revolution there ever has been in Japan. That it certainly was; but, at the same time, it signified a great deal more, for the revolution in question was not confined to the political sphere; but, at the same time, it brought about great innovations in the social and industrial institutions of the Empire. It has perhaps been this exceptional nature of the revolution, so multiplex in its effects, which has not only made stable and permanent the new order of things which the revolution inaugurated, but has imparted such vigor and vitality to the nation as no revolution has ever done in any other country. It is hardly necessary to say that the study of the industrial side of the revolution is, therefore, as important and interesting as that of its political aspects, if not more so. It will be the object of the present article to enter into a brief discussion of this industrial revolution.

Since the Restoration, and in consequence of it, Japanese industry has been undergoing a very remarkable transition, in two respects. One is in the complete modification of its nature; the other is in the sudden acceleration of its development. When, compelled by force of circumstances, Japan opened her ports and entered into treaty obligations with the Western nations, her power of taxing imports was prescribed by the terms of the various treaties at the low rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*, on the average. Most Japanese were then in utter ignorance of the complicated theories of Free Trade and Protection, so that the *pros* and *cons* of both systems had never been discussed among them. Japan thus adopted a Free Trade policy neither voluntarily nor knowingly, but at the pleasure of the Treaty Powers.

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This was the external force which helped to bring about the industrial revolution; but the needs of the new situation in which Japan suddenly found herself forced her into the revolution by influences acting from within as well. What were these needs?

To begin with, in the organization of the national army and navy, the former weapons, such as bows, spears and swords, used by the Samurai of the clans, were displaced by rifles and cannon; heavy steel armor was dispensed with, and the new conscript soldiers were attired in European uniforms. Steamers and men-of-war were gradually introduced, taking the place of the old sailing vessels. It would not do for the thousands of civil officials to be much behind the times; so they threw off their native garb and appeared in woollen suits. As a trite Japanese saying goes, "What the upper likes, the lower learns to like still more." The people who dressed themselves in European style were greeted with profounder bows; and those whose means did not enable them to comply with the dictates of fashion satisfied their pride by using European underwear beneath their Japanese clothes. Lamps came to be used at night instead of lanterns, and carpets and rugs were laid down in place of mats. In short, throughout the whole country there was a general craze for everything European.

These facts, though apparently trivial, prepare us to realize what actually occurred. There arose, both in those commodities which are the necessaries of life and in those which are merely articles of luxury, sudden and enormous demands for things which had been hitherto unknown in the Japanese market. To meet these new demands, a thorough change slowly but surely took place in the nature of the industry of the nation. While Japan remained a hermit nation, a perfect means of self-supply had been organized, and in every kind of occupation the division of labor had been carried to a fine point. Take sword-making for example, and see how many hands engaged in special occupations a sword had to go through before it could be worn by a clansman. Of course, there was the sword-smith who forged it. Then there was the craftsman who made a hilt for it; another who furnished a guard; still another who made a sheath; yet again another who lacquered it; and so on. In the manufacture of thousands of other things—such as the palanquins used by the Daimios or feudal lords, the dresses worn by the different classes of people daily or

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on ceremonial or other occasions, which were in great demand in the days of feudalism,—no less minute and multiplex divisions of labor existed. The effect upon these kinds of industry of the popular rush for things European can be easily imagined. A vast number of occupations which had hitherto been thriving had suddenly to be abandoned, and skilled laborers and artisans were thrown out of employment in thousands.

This was, indeed, the greatest shock ever felt by the industrial world of Japan. Nor, indeed, is it easy to find its parallel anywhere. We read, for instance, in modern European history of the great effect of the discovery and utilization of steam power upon the industry of the West. Undoubtedly, that was one of the most momentous events in the history of civilization, the effect of which was to revolutionize the industry of the whole of Europe. But the application of steam power to production was gradual; and, consequently, the transition which was brought about in the industrial world through it was also gradual. Moreover, the utilization of steam power was merely an improvement, however great, in the processes of production. It neither exercised any direct influence upon popular taste, nor caused a blind popular craze for novelties. Its principal merit was that it largely economized the labor of production, but it scarcely affected the nature of the general demand. In the case now before us, it was altogether different. Here, the nature of the general demand was entirely changed. It was in this respect as if a new class of consumers, with widely different tastes, had suddenly been called into existence among the old class of manufacturers, asking for things which the manufacturers knew nothing of, and which therefore they could not supply. The consequence was that the greater portion of the industrial world was paralyzed completely. Those who rightly appreciate the magnitude and strength of the shock then inflicted upon Japanese industry, may wonder with reason how Japan could have succeeded in restoring orderly business activity out of this industrial chaos.

It is one of the peculiarities of fashion that it is too superficial to take much heed of any economical principle. To this rule the present case was no exception. In spite of the danger which threatened the national finances, the demand for things European not only continued but even increased, partly, no doubt, on account of the impulse toward progress which animated the nation,

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but partly from that fondness of human nature for novelties which manifests itself as well in New Yorkers and Parisians as in American Indians and Fiji Islanders. Finding the home manufacturers utterly powerless to gratify their newly acquired tastes, Japanese consumers continued to rely upon European producers. The Japanese government, deprived of tariff autonomy, and so precluded from having recourse to protection, had not as yet had time enough to consider and adopt any other measures calculated to encourage home production. Suddenly brought face to face with Western civilization, the people, too, could not yet understand the use of machinery, or grasp the advantages of a joint capital. Moreover, all kinds of monopolies and business privileges which the Daimios granted to their favorite merchants, or to themselves, had ceased to exist with the fall of feudalism. Thus, having no excessive duties to hinder their ingress, and finding no domestic merchandise against which to compete, foreign commodities of every description freely flowed into the country, while a large number of home manufacturers were obliged to remain idle. Thus it was that the nation which, from time immemorial, had entirely depended upon herself for support and supply, began of a sudden to import all things from other countries—from the costly implements of modern warfare and expensive machinery down to trifling food-stuffs and toilet articles.

Under such circumstances, the amount of annual imports during the first ten years immediately following the Restoration naturally exceeded that of exports as will be seen from the table on the following page, the only exceptions being the first (1868) and the ninth (1876) year of Meiji, when a large amount of silk was exported to Europe owing to its scarcity there.

Such a state of affairs could not long be suffered to continue. Something had to be done to turn the tide. Either the political and social conditions had to be made to adjust themselves to the old industrial system, or the industrial system to adjust itself to the new political and social conditions. The former meant retrogression, the latter progress. Consequently, recourse was had to the latter, with the determination that no obstacles, however great, should be allowed to hinder the nation's victorious march on the path of progress. So much about the sudden change in the nature of the industry of Japan; we turn now to the acceleration of speed in its development.

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TABLE I.

FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN

(During Thirty Years After the Restoration, 1868-1898).

Christian Years.	Years of Meiji.	Merchandise. Exports.	Imports.	Total.	Excesses.
1868	1	15,553,472,870	10,693,071,790	26,246,544,660	4,860,401,080
1869	2	12,908,977,990	20,783,633,090	33,692,611,080	*7,874,655,100
1870	3	14,543,012,510	33,741,637,360	48,284,649,870	*19,198,624,850
1871	4	17,968,608,660	21,916,727,650	39,885,336,310	*3,948,118,990
1872	5	17,026,647,220	26,174,814,930	43,201,462,150	*9,148,167,710
1873	6	21,635,440,850	28,107,390,030	49,142,830,880	*6,471,949,180
1874	7	19,317,306,090	23,407,814,400	42,779,120,490	*4,144,508,310
1875	8	18,611,110,610	29,975,627,620	48,586,738,230	*11,364,517,010
1876	9	27,711,527,500	23,964,678,960	51,576,206,460	3,746,848,540
1877	10	23,348,521,600	27,420,902,950	50,769,424,550	*4,072,381,350
1878	11	25,988,140,280	32,874,834,170	58,862,974,450	*6,886,693,890
1879	12	28,175,770,190	32,953,002,390	61,128,772,580	*4,777,232,200
1880	13	28,395,386,660	36,626,601,000	65,021,987,660	*8,231,214,340
1881	14	31,058,887,930	31,191,246,020	62,250,133,950	*132,358,090
1882	15	37,721,750,570	29,446,593,980	67,168,344,550	8,275,156,590
1883	16	36,268,019,590	28,444,841,780	64,712,861,370	7,823,177,810
1884	17	33,871,465,500	29,672,647,450	63,544,112,950	4,198,818,050
1885	18	37,146,691,430	29,356,967,920	66,503,659,350	7,789,723,510
1886	19	48,876,312,790	32,168,432,260	81,044,745,050	16,707,880,530
1887	20	52,407,681,150	44,304,251,690	96,711,932,840	8,103,429,460
1888	21	65,705,510,210	65,455,234,010	131,160,744,220	250,276,200
1889	22	70,060,705,820	66,103,766,600	136,164,472,420	3,956,939,220
1890	23	56,603,506,030	81,728,580,500	138,332,086,530	*25,125,074,470
1891	24	79,527,272,340	62,927,268,380	142,454,540,720	16,600,003,960
1892	25	91,102,753,630	71,326,079,500	162,428,833,130	19,776,674,130
1893	26	89,712,864,590	88,257,171,710	177,970,036,300	1,455,692,880
1894	27	113,246,086,150	117,481,955,460	230,728,041,610	*4,235,869,310
1895	28	136,172,177,920	129,260,578,280	265,372,756,200	6,851,599,640
1896	29	117,842,760,620	171,674,474,250	289,517,234,870	*53,831,713,630
1897	30	163,135,077,320	219,300,771,640	382,435,848,960	*56,165,694,320
1898	31	165,753,752,880	277,502,156,510	443,255,909,390	*111,748,403,630

*These figures show the excesses of imports; the others those of exports.

One of the principal measures adopted by the Restoration government, with the object of promoting the national prosperity and enlightenment, was the education—using the term in its widest sense—of the young as well as of grown men, some of whom held high government positions. These latter were made to travel through civilized countries for the purpose of observing and examining their social, industrial, and political institutions, with a view to transplanting to Japanese soil whatever seemed to them likely to bear good fruit there. A great many students were also sent abroad to study all the branches of modern science. At home, not only were common schools established all over the coun-

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try, but there arose the Imperial University, the Schools of Mechanical Engineering and of Agriculture. The young men began thus to be equipped for their future activity in the spheres of politics and industry.

Another measure which the government steadily pursued was the establishment of various kinds of factories, under the direct supervision and management of its officials. In the School of Mechanical Engineering, a small iron-foundry was built, and machines were made for the purpose of practical instruction. The Department of the Army started the manufacture of gun-powder and implements of war, while the Department of the Navy built and equipped a dockyard. The Department of Finance could not get along without a mint, nor the mint without a chemical laboratory. The same department also felt the need of an establishment where the paper currency, the national bonds and various kinds of stamps could be printed, and founded one under its direct control. In a similar manner a paper factory was established. This, in turn, necessitated the manufacture of sulphuric acid, soda, and other chemicals; and thus various manufactories sprang up, one after another.

The government also encouraged the introduction of the machinery for reeling silk thread and spinning cotton yarns, both of which operations had formerly been done almost wholly by manual labor, with such slight mechanical assistance as could be obtained from a wooden contrivance of a rudimentary nature. The government succeeded in concentrating the capital hitherto scattered by issuing Bank Regulations and establishing national banks. For the purpose of facilitating foreign trade, it used its influence for the establishment of the Specie Bank of Yokohama. Again, the government undertook the construction of the first railway in Japan,—the line between Tokyo and Yokohama.

Not to go into further details of a similar nature, let it suffice to say that, during the first ten years after the Restoration, the principal items of export of the country consisted of natural products or raw materials, while manufactured goods were imported from the West, the amount having a tendency to increase year by year; and that the government, anxious to check this tendency, concentrated its efforts during this period upon laying the foundation for the development of the national resources and industry,

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the effect of which became gradually apparent in the subsequent ten years.

Those young men who were studying the different branches of science, either in their own country or abroad, were now ready to make practical application of the instruction which they had received.

Profiting by the examples set them by the government, the people, too, began to appreciate the advantages of the European industrial system. Wealth and intellect joined hands to benefit themselves and their native land by exercising their capacity in the new field of industrial activity. Led by enterprising individuals, railway companies, mining corporations, cotton mills, paper factories and many other enterprises of the like kind made their appearance one after another, as private organizations. The home producers and manufacturers who thus arose were now able, in part at least, to meet the demands of new Japan. The adjustment of the industrial institutions to the new order of things was now an accomplished fact; and one of the greatest industrial revolutions in the history of mankind had thus been achieved within comparatively short time.

Among the most successful manufactures newly started in Japan, we may mention the match industry. Formerly, flint was in universal use in Japan; but when matches were imported, they began at once to be used, even in the remotest villages. Some shrewd business men saw the great profits that could be realized from this industry; so it was started; and, although it had to encounter some difficulties at first, yet before many years had passed, the home-made matches completely drove out those made in Europe.

But, indeed, the success did not stop here; Japanese matches soon entered into competition with their European rivals in the Chinese markets. There they were again victorious. To-day they are exported, besides, to Corea and Siberia, to Hong Kong, Singapore, British India and to the islands of the southern Pacific, the annual amount of the export having now risen to about yen 7,000,000 in value.

The future of this particular industry looks most promising, as will be evident from the increasing amount of the yearly production shown by the accompanying table, which gives statistics also as to the growth of other industries.

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TABLE II.

MANUFACTURED GOODS EXPORTED FROM JAPAN

(in thousands of yens).

Years of Meiji	21.	30.	31.
Christian years	1889.	1897.	1898.
Habutaye	804	9,530	12,055
Other silk piece goods		186	573
Silk handkerchiefs	2,104	3,390	3,555
Cotton piece goods	143	2,512	2,691
Carpets	54	973	850
Matches	1,137	5,641	6,273
Flowered matting	166	1,232	3,938
Cotton yarns	....	13,490	20,105
Porcelain and pottery	1,449	1,819	1,989
Lacquer	589	767	783
Straw braid	146	3,181	5,981
Umbrellas	26	628	687
	6,618	43,349	59,480

Another enterprise that has proved successful is cotton spinning. Twenty years ago, there existed only two mills, with 20,000 spindles each; now, there are 1,300,000 spindles, and besides providing for our domestic needs, cotton yarn is exported to China to the amount of yen 20,000,000 annually. Muslin and other cotton goods are also exported. Paper manufacture has been very prosperous recently. The enormous number of publications, such as books, periodicals, and newspapers, has caused the establishment of many new mills; and, like matches, after successful competition with the foreign product at home, our paper is now competing in China against that manufactured in the West. The production of cement was first undertaken by the government, that article being necessary for the building of railroads. But to-day many private companies are manufacturing cement for domestic and foreign consumption. Woollen factories in Tokyo and Osaka are kept busy; and their output, in quantity and quality, is almost sufficient to meet the internal demand. They call for a yearly import of raw wool amounting to yen 4,917,763. It would be too tedious a task to enumerate various other branches of industry, such as the manufacturing of brushes, soap, and many others, which are prospering or beginning to prosper in Japan under her free trade system. It may be, perhaps, proper to conclude *a posteriori* from what has been observed that most of the new industrial undertakings in Japan which are still in the stage of in-

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fancy, and are growing with wonderful rapidity, after they have displaced imported goods in the home markets, will, in obedience to the economical law of demand and supply, pour their products into all the other Eastern markets, where they will compete favorably with the same kind of commodities from America or Europe.

In these days of steam and electricity, the exchange of thoughts and ideas is effected with ease and alacrity, as much as, if not more than, the exchange of commodities. The arguments in favor of a protective tariff, after the fashion of those advanced in the United States, found their way to Japan. Now and then, some observers here, of more or less influence, maintain that the growth of our industry does not fully keep up with our expectations, chiefly because of the absence of protection. This, to say the least, is an open question. Table I. (page 681) proves that the exports and the imports of Japan have been doubled, more or less, every ten years since 1868. The following table shows an annual increase of the imports of some chief raw materials while those of the manufactured articles remain, relatively speaking, at a standstill.

TABLE III.

COTTON AND WOOLLEN GOODS IMPORTED TO JAPAN.

(in yens).

Christian Years.	Years of Meiji.	Cotton.		Wool.	
		Manufactures of.	Raw.	Manufactures of.	Raw.
1867	1	2,542,979	1,657,454	0	?
1872	5	4,891,770	5,420,843	0	?
1877	10	808,804	4,502,838	0	?
1882	15	4,231,872	7,029,259	?	?
1887	20	3,391,939	9,149,166	5,142,513	445,200
1892	25	4,752,208	19,476,623	6,257,671	730,493
1897	30	9,888,031	53,245,571	10,282,464	3,413,906
1900	32	9,402,037	67,174,040	9,072,422	4,917,763

This and also Table II. (p. 684) prove the progress of our industry. Such development of the national resources as Japan has been making has been accomplished under her free trade policy. To us this development seems truly phenomenal. But if any one asks, why it has not been even more so, the explanation appears to be that Japan is still in great need of men of trained intellect and practical experience, not that she is in need of protection. Given the same amount of capital and the same kind of machinery as we possess, if persons of trained intellect and practical experience engage in manufacture with them, the undertak-

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ings will succeed; otherwise, they will fail. When cotton spinning was first undertaken in Japan, all the yarns produced were coarse; the fine yarns could not be obtained owing to the lack of skill and experience on the part of the laborers, who were then utter strangers to this kind of work. Even at the present time, for the same reason, large quantities of fine yarns are imported from England, although the amount is decreasing year by year.

Besides, we must remember that the advancement of manufactures depends, to a large extent, upon the development of the banking system, of the insurance system, of the means of transportation. These also require special training and experience in the men employed. Japanese capitalists and producers, recognizing this fact, are anxious to engage the services of those who have specially studied, or gained practical experience in, the various branches of industry either at home or abroad. But the number of such persons is sadly small compared with the demand. Herein lie the true grounds for complaint, if complaint is to be made at all. It is not the absence of a protective tariff, nor the scarcity of capital, nor yet the high rate of interest, as some hold, that we have to deplore. One or two of these supposed causes may have something to do in hindering Japanese industry from developing with even greater speed. Every encouragement should be given by the government and the nation at large to the public and private institutions of learning, and to certain industrial corporations, so that they can furnish the country with a sufficient number of such men through study and practice: and in the course of time, they will become a most valuable instrumentality in developing the industry and resources of the nation, without the aid of protection.

The Japanese advocates of protection are accustomed to point to the marvellous development of the resources of the United States as an example of what protection can do. Originally a poverty stricken nation, the United States have become one of the wealthiest and most populous countries on the surface of the globe within the last hundred years. But whether this unexampled prosperity is due mainly to protection remains still a debatable subject, notwithstanding earnest and careful discussion for many years past by the most sagacious statesmen and the most profound scholars of the Union. It is not within the scope of my subject to take part in this controversy. Leaving it, therefore, as an un-

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solved question, let us stop to consider some points of the radical differences which exist between the two nations, in order to show that, even if it were true that the prosperity of the United States were due to protection, it would not necessarily follow that that would hold good in the case of Japan also.

The physical resources of the United States, we all know, have been and still are unlimited. The vast stretch of fertile land between the Atlantic and the Pacific had remained in its natural, wild state from unknown times. The mountains were ready to yield magnificent timber and rich store of minerals; navigable rivers and lakes were ready to afford unrivalled facilities for traffic; along the coasts, sinuous bays waited to provide shelter for ships freighted with the wealth of a continent, whose vast expanse of plough-land and pasture-land were to be flecked with numberless homesteads. This continent, so favored by nature with resources and wealth surpassing the dreams of avarice, remained unknown till four hundred years ago. Moreover, the people who settled on this virgin land were far from being unintelligent and uncivilized. They brought with them from the Old World all the accumulated knowledge and experience of a thousand years, and all the great characteristics of their race—indomitable courage, untiring energy, love of liberty and uprightness. The New World poured forth its hidden treasures lavishly at the touch of the hands of this noble race. Solely occupied with the development of the internal resources of their continent, and anxious to secure peace and order so that they might be free to concentrate their efforts upon the accomplishment of that object, the people of the United States long adhered strictly to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and avoided all diplomatic entanglements with Europe, preventing at the same time any encroachment of the European Powers upon their own sphere of influence.

This tendency of the United States to remain in some degree isolated from the Old World has been manifested not politically only, but commercially also; for the prevention of foreign competition was thought necessary to the development of internal resources. Thus a protective policy was adopted, and by it the desired end was attained. But if the United States did not wish to have other nations entering into competition with her in her own markets, she was not very anxious in return to compete in the markets of others, so that, as regards her exports, she let things

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take their own course. The consequence was that the principal items of her exports were, till quite recently, and are now, though to a much less extent, agricultural and natural products, which the richness of her soil enabled her to produce in abundance, and for the supply of which the European nations were obliged to depend upon her. While by protection she thus succeeded in preventing foreign competition, there meanwhile has arisen, within the last twenty years, a number of trusts, syndicates and combinations of various kinds, with the result of checking internal competition to a large extent. Though in the United States protection and trusts have effected successful results, it is singular that neither the one nor the other has prospered in any part of Europe. Considering these facts, it is to be questioned if the trusts could have long existed without protection, or protection without the Monroe Doctrine. At any rate, it is certain that these three factors in combination have exercised a great influence upon the destiny of the United States.

Now, let us consider the case of Japan. Its territorial extent, roughly speaking, is only one-twentieth of that of the United States, but its population is estimated at the enormous figure of forty-five millions. From ancient times, the resources of Japan have been fully utilized and developed. The various mines that are now being worked are mostly of at least three hundred years' standing. The farms are now under such a condition that they require abundance of fertilizers in order to yield a good return of crops. The farmers have to labor on their small lots of land with the care and patience which a Japanese gardener exercises when he makes a miniature landscape, by here making a rivulet course and curve, and there raising a small hill. They are not like the farmers of the United States, in possessing vast tracts of lands, and cultivating them with steam machinery. Again, regarding the Japanese people, though they are in one sense very old, yet in another they are quite young, it being only thirty years since they assumed a cosmopolitan character. In other words, in the case of the United States, the country is young, and the people old; whereas, in the case of Japan, the country is old and the people young. With these great fundamental differences, to say nothing of the great dissimilarities in economical and political condition, which are noticeable between the two nations, is it not hasty to conclude that, because the industry in one country has

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TABLE IV.

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT OF THE UNITED STATES

(In Thousands of Dollars).

	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
1. Breadstuffs—						
Corn and cornmeal	$30,981	$15,299	$38,490	$54,989	$75,962	$70,753
Wheat and wheat flour	128,678	95,457	91,735	115,834	214,948	177,363
All other	7,116	3,847	11,130	27,033	42,985	25,883
Total	$166,775	$114,603	$141,395	$197,856	$333,895	$273,999
2. Cotton and Manufactures of—						
Unmanufactured	210,869	204,900	190,056	230,890	230,442	209,564
Manufactures of	14,340	13,789	16,837	21,037	17,024	23,566
Total	$225,209	$218,689	$206,893	$251,927	$247,466	$233,130
3. Provisions—						
Meat products	135,690	127,001	125,204	127,483	158,245	167,879
Dairy products	9,580	6,632	6,299	9,654	9,095	7,629
Total	$145,270	$133,633	$131,503	$137,137	$167,340	$175,508
4. Iron and Steel	29,220	32,000	41,160	57,497	70,406	93,716
5. Mineral Oils—						
Crude	4,415	5,161	6,127	6,171	4,343	5,202
Refined	37,083	41,498	56,261	56,463	51,782	51,070
Total	$41,498	$46,660	$62,388	$62,634	$56,125	$56,272
6. Wood and Manufactures of	27,712	27,115	31,947	39,624	37,513	41,489
7. Animals—						
Cattle	33,461	30,603	34,560	36,357	37,827	30,516
All other	2,250	5,150	7,280	7,211	8,415	7,364
Total	$35,711	$35,753	$41,840	$43,568	$46,242	$37,880
8. Copper and Manufactures of—						
Ore	2,435	1,104	2,033	2,059	824	440
Manufactures of	19,697	14,468	19,720	31,621	31,180	35,983
Total	$22,132	$15,573	$21,753	$33,680	$32,004	$36,423
9. Tobacco and Manufactures of—						
Unmanufactured	24,085	25,798	24,571	24,711	22,171	25,467
Manufactured	3,849	3,953	4,380	5,025	4,818	5,178
Total	$27,934	$29,751	$28,951	$29,736	$26,989	$30,645

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prospered under protection, the other will also prosper under the same fiscal system?

If we examine the table on the foregoing page, which gives the amount of the principal exports of the United States, we shall be able to draw an interesting inference. It is this,—that while the industry of the United States is, on the whole, very healthy and growing, the exports of the unmanufactured commodities, and of those which otherwise possess the character of raw materials, have generally shown no tendency to increase to any remarkable extent, and in some cases have actually decreased; that the exports of manufactured articles have been increasing steadily, in most cases the figures of the year 1894 having been almost doubled in 1899. One of the greatest agricultural peoples is gradually becoming a manufacturing nation. Before long, her manufacturing power may become so great that she will be compelled to seek markets all over the world for the disposal of her produce. When that day comes, her protective tariff may prove a great obstacle to her success in competing with other nations, for one of the well known effects of protection is to raise wages and prices.

Here is an interesting table of comparative prices in the United States and England, compiled by Mr. Henry W. Lamb, President of the New England Free Trade League.

TABLE V.

PRICES IN UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

Article.	Quantity.	United States Price.	English Price.
Lead	100 lbs.	$4.70	$3.64
Litharge	lb.	.08⅜	.04¾
Wire, smooth	100 lbs.	3.05	2.50
Barb wire (galvanized)	100 lbs.	3.80	2.39
Wire nails	100 lbs.	3.38	2.55
Iron ore	ton.	6.12½	5.25
Tin plate	100 lbs.	4.85	3.60
Sheet steel	100 lbs.	2.70	2.07
Galvanized iron	100 lbs.	3.78	3.23
Steel beams	100 lbs.	2.30	1.80
Borax, refined	lb.	.07½	.034
Lime	bbl.	.90	.62
Cream of tartar	lb.	.22⅛	.159
Bleaching powder	lb.	.02¾	.01½
Castor oil	lb.	.12¼	.066
Caustic soda	100 lbs.	2.42	1.84
Cement (Portland, best)	bbl.	2.55	1.11

Mr. Lamb says:—

"The effect of the trust prices is to put all production in which these articles (in the table) are required upon an unsound, because

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artificially high, basis. We are developing an export trade in many lines of American manufacture that is becoming the wonder and admiration of the whole world. Americans are not only proud of what has already been accomplished, but look forward with eagerness to every promised increase in our exports. This eagerness is the more intense because we have reached such a stage in our industrial development that the prosperity, and even the maintenance, of thousands of our people depend upon selling their products abroad. And yet, at the outset, at the very foundation of manufacturing enterprise, the tariff enables the trusts which it has created to extort for the materials of industry a price 25, 50 and sometimes 100 per cent. above what a foreign competitor pays for the same materials. Every handicap, every disadvantage, of this sort must be removed, if American producers are to continue to win in the sharp competition of foreign commerce. Every trust extortion, then, should be resented for two reasons: It makes our consumers pay more and our producers sell less. And every tariff duty that protects a trust in its extortions should be abolished."

In the light of these facts, it would not be at all surprising that, if the industrial prosperity of the United States continues to increase, as no doubt it will, and if the growth of her manufacturing power keeps pace with it, she may be obliged one of these days to abandon her protective tariff, in which she has been a firm believer ever since the beginning of her national existence; even as, urged by the necessity of her national expansion, she recently gave up her Monroe Doctrine, annexed the Hawaiian Islands to her territory and occupied Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Such being the case, Japan is not likely to adopt a protective policy in spite of her having secured something like tariff autonomy by her revised treaties with the Western nations, and in spite of the opinions of those who wish to take advantage of the terms of these treaties. She is aware that, for the development of her resources, she is indebted to the free trade system, and she will remain a willing instrument for benefiting other nations through it, as well as herself. In this, she finds the means of repaying her indebtedness to the Western nations—especially to the United States, which first introduced her into the family of nations—who imbued her with the spirit of modern civilization, and gave her whatever she has needed for the invigoration of her national life, thus enabling her to act her part with honor and distinction, whether in war or in peace.

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CHINA AND THE WESTERN POWERS.

BY F. CRISPI, FORMERLY PRIME MINISTER OF ITALY.

THE first attempts to civilize China started from Italy, the birthplace of more than one civilization. The Italians, having inherited the Greek and the Latin spirit, defended the intellectual conquests they had achieved throughout the ages against the barbarians a long time before they were able to constitute themselves into a free and united nation. Marco Polo revealed China to Europe; Martino Martini was the first to describe it graphically in 1655 through his *"Atlas Sinensis;"* and the first missionaries to the Far East were Italians, who, whilst respecting the external forms of the Chinese rites, preached the Christian faith (insinuating that the germs of it were already contained in the Chinese religious codes), and propagated the principles of Italian science and civilization. Some unfortunate disagreements between the rulers of the country and the Dominican friars resulted in the expulsion of all the missionaries from China; and Latin influence was nearly entirely replaced by the influence of Northern Europe, since Holland, England and Russia did not then mix religious propaganda with their mercantile and colonial enterprises. But China was practically closed to Europe for a century; and force of arms alone succeeded, in the period from 1841 to 1887, in re-opening its doors.

The treaty of Nanking (1842) opened the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow and Ning-Po to British commerce, gave Hong-Kong to England, and imposed an indemnity to the amount of twenty-one millions of dollars on China. During the fifty years that followed, we had the treaty of Tien-tsin in 1858 (ratified at Peking two years later, when England and France had sacked the Imperial Summer Palace); the Anglo-French treaties of 1860-1861; the agreement of Chefoo (1886); the treaty of peace be-

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tween France and China on the 9th of June, 1885, after the struggle for Tongking; the additional agreement of 1887; the commercial agreement of Chung-King, in February, 1890—and all this so as to open new ports to Europeans; to declare and guarantee a free opportunity to Christian propaganda, with the recognition of the right of missionaries to possess houses and lands independently of the so-called "European concessions," which right had before always been refused to laymen; to sanction and enlarge the principle of extra-territoriality not for the diplomatic representatives only, but for all Europeans; to abolish the transit duty, which each province had the right to impose on goods; and to recognize the right of European nations to navigate and transport goods along the two great river-ways also, which, for a total length of over six thousand miles, lead from the Yellow Sea into the heart of the immense Chinese continent.

This long series of compulsory acts on the part of Europe gave rise to a reaction in China not only ethical and religious, but political and national. The different secret societies, the result of native fanaticism, grew more powerful, increased in number and became very bold. The Chinese chronicles are full of stories of bloodthirsty uprisings against strangers, accompanied by ferocious pillage and robbery, directed mainly against the mission-houses and the missionaries. All the prejudices that fanaticism could suggest to stir up an ignorant and barbaric population were set at work, some ridiculous, other childish; but they all and always had most terrible results.

In 1894, the war with Japan broke out, and, like a flash of lightning, rapidly came to an end. But of this war Russia, Germany, England and France gathered the fruits, after they had arrested the victorious young Empire on the way to Peking.

After four or five years of territorial occupation, a new general rising has broken out against Europe, which has been accused of interfering with the Dynasty, the Dynasty being considered as having been powerless to prevent disturbances which might prove the prelude to the disruption of China. Whether this be a national revolution, or only a war of fanaticism, the historians of the future will say. At the present moment, it is simply the cause which has provoked the intervention of the civilized Powers in the affairs of China. Was this intervention justified? Was it imposed by duty?

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The Chinese Empire is an anachronism: its insensate obstinacy in resisting any change looking toward modern civilization is unparalleled. The cruelties of Islamism, although so much later in origin, the Mussulman fanaticism, the recent slaughters of the Armenians, still present to our mind, all fade into nothing by comparison. Turkey is acting on the defensive and for self-preservation; her diplomacy, cleverly turning European rivalries to advantage, is endeavoring to preserve the throne of the Sultan for the Turks, knowing quite well that any change means death. China, on the other hand, is an obstacle in the way of commerce and of the world-civilization. From the day when China stood up in arms against Japan, the historical contrast between Chinese barbarity and the civilization of the world at large presented itself as a phenomenon which, at the dawn of a new century, was nothing less than amazing.

Japan gave obvious proofs of understanding that the reason of her existence and her destiny are very closely connected with the necessity of a change within herself. Whether Japan has really understood this fact, or has only appeared to do so, cannot at the present moment be affirmed, although it would seem difficult for her now to draw back from the course she has already taken; but, whatever may be true of Japan, eternal immobility and unchangeableness are the characteristics of China. China is still to-day what it was in the most remote past; it has learned nothing from contact with civilized peoples, either in war or commerce. The preaching of Christianity for centuries within Chinese borders has been almost fruitless. The one sentiment that has grown with unexampled rapidity and is now spread over that immense extent of densely populated land is race prejudice, hatred of the Europeans.

It is not my intention to trace the formation of the European concessions in China. These are closely connected with the action, in political or colonial expansion, of the respective Powers, especially after the Japanese victory, which was transformed into a Russian occupation of Port Arthur. *"Sic vos, non vobis!"* Since that day, each nation has turned towards the Yellow Sea with more lively hopes, aspirations and ambitions. Each country of Europe has ever been forced to act thus, either for economical, social, or domestic reasons; or in defence of its own position and prestige in the world; or for protection of commerce, of the dif-

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ferent outlets required for its products and superabundant industries; and there has been the supreme necessity of preserving the balance of power on the seas, which would immediately be upset by the establishing of a powerful colonial empire on the part of one Power to the detriment of the others. All this immense concentration of political and economical, social and commercial, moral and material interests, for the securing of wider national opportunity, is summarized in history, from the British conquest of India to our days. France, the epic dream of Napoleon having become a thing of the past, is, although a Republic, organizing with dogged perseverance a colonial empire. The other Powers, which, on account of the Napoleonic arrogance, could do little in the first quarter of the century, endeavored, as soon as the period of restoration had come, to conquer territory and influence in the most distant regions of the world; the last example being the United States in its conquest of the Philippines. In China, each one has, up till now, obtained by force, by cunning, by shrewdness, as much as sufficed to prevent the establishment by a rival of a possible future, exclusive supremacy. Only the weak and incapable were excluded from those concessions, being unable to claim them in time or with sufficient authority of prestige. The narrow mind of the Chinaman did not recognize in these said concessions the basis of an opportunity for reciprocal advantage in the future—the beginning of a happy transformation which might have led China from the horrible refinements of the arts of barbarism to those very different and genial ones of modern civilization.

During the long period which intervened between the eleventh century and the fifteenth, and still later, the relations between the East and West had been most regular and peaceful; but they were free from any pretence of conquest, from any tendency to disturb the religious, and, consequently, the moral, conscience of Asiatics. On the contrary, they were founded on a free and reciprocal intellectual, moral and material intercourse. The account which Marco Polo gives of the fifteen and more years passed by him in China, of the many important offices and confidential missions entrusted to him, affords conclusive proof that the Chinese in those times exercised tolerance towards Europeans.

The objects of intercourse being changed, the nature of the relationship became modified also. The first difficulty was the

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rise of fanaticism against the missions. The secret societies speedily took advantage of this sentiment, and the Europeans, whilst, empowered by regular concessions, they were intent on constructing railways, developing industry and setting up other productive manufactures, were slaughtered. The diplomatic and consular agents were first assaulted and then besieged; whilst the representative of the German Empire, led into an infamous trap, was barbarously murdered. Immediate intervention was indispensable; and it was also important that the necessity for this intervention should be recognized by public opinion, so that international accord might be rendered more easy. Unhappily, exaggerations and fantastic inventions were not wanting on the part of the press. Descriptions and horrible details of slaughter and torture were published, which had, fortunately, never taken place. I do not approve of this kind of journalistic imposition on public credulity; but I recognize, in a spirit of impartiality, that it prevented the home opponents of some of the Powers from starting a movement intent on misrepresenting the purpose of the intervention, and from pretending that it was a colossal enterprise for conquest, a whimsical and arrogant colonial adventure.

It may be as well to state clearly and accurately the considerations on which the decision for the collective action of the Powers was based. These were the re-establishment of order, as it was impossible for the civilized world to look on unmoved at such a gigantic revolution; the severe and exemplary punishment of the bloodthirsty insults offered to the representatives of the Powers; the rehabilitation of each of the separate Powers in those rights which the violated concessions recognized as respectively theirs, and the securing of a real guarantee that the horrible deeds of cruelty should never happen again in the future; the guarantee of effective protection for the religious missions, of all creeds and all nationalities; the establishing of an orderly government, that would honestly co-operate in the application of the measures proposed; the obliging of this government to maintain normal and peaceable relations with the civilized Powers, through their diplomatic, consular and military representatives.

These different objects, then, constituted a common programme; though the indemnities and compensations to be demanded by the several Powers, individually, might differ in degree.

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The right and justice of the cause were so evident that all the Powers joined it. It may be said that, for once only, diplomacy based on reasons of state yielded the path to sentiment. A ray of idealism was lighting up the not always disinterested movements of European Cabinets. And we saw troops embarking at every port, under every flag, amidst the enthusiastic cheers and good wishes of every one. More significant example was never imagined of what would be the course of affairs in that grand Utopia, the United States of Europe. Never was so gigantic a stride taken towards universal brotherhood—a brotherhood which is nothing else, for the present at least, but a rhetorical figure in the declamations of socialistic and anarchical orators, who, preaching the struggle of class against class, confirm the ancient aphorism, *"Homo homini lupus!"*

The march to the front was rapid, the incidents of little or no importance, the victims, happily, few. The enemy beats a hurried retreat. The discipline, the accord of the international combatants, the perfection of their arms, but increase the terror, and soon the road is clear. Peking is occupied, the legations relieved and their occupants set free. But the revolt and the massacres still rage in the Tartar cities; all reliable news is wanting; it is not known whether the Emperor is dead or alive, if the Empress has taken flight and where, if the rebel Prince has made himself the jailer of the imperial family, or if he himself is a prisoner, and of whom. In the meantime other troops, and in larger numbers, and inured to war, are landed at Taku, where they greet the arrival of the commander-in-chief, proposed by Germany and accepted, under more or less restrictive conditions, by all the Powers, in the person of Field Marshal von Waldersee.

Whilst diplomacy and the troops are sharpening their weapons, these observations of mine will be on their way across the ocean. I will then spare myself the ungrateful task of the prophet; so much the more as, in such a serious and complicated question, the most unexpected incidents might give the lie to the most reasonable hypothesis. I will, instead, consider the great problem itself, and under the aspect which interests me the most.

China is a huge market; the 450 millions of inhabitants that populate its immense territory render this, whilst it is more extensive, also more thickly populated than Europe. Japan, with

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a population which stands in the proportion of one to ten compared with the Chinese, has nearly the same value of commerce; in 1899 it amounted to 225 millions of dollars, whilst China succeeded with difficulty in reaching 233 millions. This comparison will suffice to show that the Far East is a real and wealthy mine, still almost unexplored for the purposes of commerce, investment of capital and production.

If, up till now, England has enjoyed the greater part of this commerce, we must not forget that the commercial question tends always, more and more, to become mixed up with the political. China might flatter herself that she is impregnably defended by her great wall; but now England is gradually working her way into the very heart of the Celestial Empire, and stretching out her claws towards the South, with concessions in the territory opposite Hong-Kong, and she has occupied Wei-hai-wei; whilst she had already succeeded in having the frontier of Upper Burma rectified, in acquiring the right to navigate on the Yangtse, and in securing the opening of three new ports, which placed the whole commerce of Kwang-Si in her hands, with the right to send consuls into Yun-nan and to unite the railways and telegraph lines of Eastern India with those of China.

On the north there is Russia, whose position it would be as well to examine at length. Russia having occupied part of Manchuria, the Russian-Chinese frontiers extend coterminously over more than 4,000 miles. The Trans-Siberian railway, the construction of which has been pushed on with alacrity, for obvious military purposes, is already, for the greater part, open for traffic —that is to say, along the extensive stretch from Samara to Stretensk, and, on another piece from the Sea of Japan (Vladivostock) to Khabarovka. When the line now in construction from Stretensk to Khabarovka is completed, all the northern part of Manchuria will be protected by that line, which will render a rapid mobilization of troops a very easy matter; and when the branch line from the Onon River to Peking and to Port Arthur is open to the public, the possession of Manchuria will be made sure, whilst Mongolia will always be threatened. It is no longer a matter, then, of saying that Russia is aiming only at the defence of her frontiers; it appears evident, instead, that the Muscovite Empire tends towards acquiring a preponderating position, in view of events which have perhaps already been brought to a head.

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Germany has put down a firm foot in the province of Shan-tung, and France has insured herself a nice little bit to the south.

Another actor on the stage which must be taken into account is Japan; in possession of Formosa by right of conquest, she threatens to take the province of Fo-kien. This province, so modest in appearance, geographically speaking, has been an enemy to China for centuries. Whilst Fo-kien is an essentially agricultural country, Japan is chiefly military. In China, the cultivator of the soil is obliged to gather two immense harvests of rice every year to feed such an enormous population. Japan, instead, possesses untold mineral treasures, and her mines are admirably well worked; so that not only do they provide wealth, but they render the land independent of Europe as regards implements either for peace or war.

Finally, we come to the United States of America, that already had many important interests in China, chiefly commercial, and which, after having wrested the Philippine Islands from Spain, after having, by the occupation of the Sandwich Islands and (together with Germany) of the Archipelago of Samoa, marked out, so to say, the extremities of a line between their Far West and the Asiatic Far East, have also taken up arms and intervened in the present conflict to such an extent as to legitimately entitle them to some kind of real compensation.

The intervention of the United States reveals another aspect of the future. For, if Russia intends to pass over from Manchuria and occupy Mongolia; if England intends to claim the expansion of her sphere of influence over all the Yangtse Valley (with 177 millions of Chinese population); if Germany gradually spreads herself over all the peninsula of Shan-tung—three suppositions that might be safely made by any one who has followed the development of European occupations in China during recent years—the great highway of the Atlantic, now preponderating, not to say exclusive, as regards commerce and international relations, will lose its value in comparison to that of the Pacific Ocean. This immense sea, put into communication with the Atlantic by the Nicaragua Canal, leads to a world which was, up till now, if not unknown, certainly neglected, from the coasts of China and Japan to those of California and the neighboring Rocky Mountains, across Australia and the thousands of enchanted islands constituting Polynesia.

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Ocean cables are already quietly being prepared; the German press has already pointed out that the acquisition of the Caroline Islands, of the Palaos and the Marianne, must be considered as a bridge thrown between the other German possessions, Kiao-chou and New Guinea. The populations living on the coasts of the Pacific amount to 878 millions—that is to say, 100 millions more than the half of the entire population of the world, according to the latest calculations.

Senator Seward made the statement, as long ago as 1868, in the Senate of the United States, that the Pacific Ocean, its shores, islands, and the coasts washed by its waves, will in future be the principal stage on which the events of the world will be played out. It seems to me that the Senator's prophecy is about to be accomplished.

So far I have purposely said nothing regarding France and Italy. They are the two greatest Catholic nations in Europe, if we take into account the reserve which Austria-Hungary has maintained in foreign politics for several years; and the massacre of the missionaries enjoins upon them duties equal to those which Germany has asserted for herself in consequence of the assassination of her diplomatic representative. The right to intervene is confirmed by the treaty of Berlin of July 13th, 1878, by which treaty each nation has the right to protect its missionaries abroad. The fifty-second clause of this treaty imposes, moreover, much wider and more pressing duties on France. France cannot renounce that of which she has always boasted as a privilege. The exercising of this right dates from a remote past. We find it one with the sceptre of the Kings of France; we see it constantly reconfirmed; and, after the Crimean War, we find it extended even where it was not justified in penetrating and where it ought not to have forced itself, thanks to the persevering and most zealous work of the missionaries, who, instead of being instruments for the spreading of Christian charity and civilization, are far more frequently diplomatic wielders of political influence. This work of slow but continual expansion came more easily to France because of a circumstance which it is important to record.

All know that the Institute *De Propaganda Fide* sends a large number of missionaries to the East; but all do not know that this Institute has a powerful organization in Lyons, where the liberty conceded to it by the Vatican and the assured protection of the

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French Government have ended by gaining extraordinary political power for the *Propaganda* work. It happens, consequently, that, whilst the religious missions sent from France to the most distant lands preserve a marked national character, those organized by other nations absorb outside elements, and each such mission thus loses the character of the place of its origin, so that the influence resulting from its work cannot be attributed to one State rather than another. It is true, however, that France has not always fulfilled her duty as protector of the Christians in the East; and still we have a vivid remembrance of the horror felt at the massacres of the Armenians, against which every civilized being raised a cry of shame; but the horror at these cruel persecutions was equalled by the regret felt that France both should and could have forgotten the task assigned to her by history and tradition, and so jealously claimed by her at Berlin in 1878. The fact was naturally followed by its consequences; because the Christians, subjects of the Sultan, finding themselves abandoned by those who, they considered, ought to have quickly intervened for their protection, turned round and concentrated, so to say, all their hopes on Russia. If, at the present moment, France were to repeat the same error, would Russia subordinate to this unasked-for protection her own private aims in the far East?

With regard to Italy, the duty owing to humanity has justified her intervention in China. Italy cannot boast that she has commercial interests to protect there. In Chinese commerce, Italy not only comes after Germany, Japan, Russia, France and the United States, but is left a long way behind by Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. Italy's intervention is dictated by the obligations of civilization, humanity, and the protection of Italians, be they laymen or missionaries. And the points of the programme common to all the other Powers, already mentioned, are those that Italy has equally the right to see carried out.

Europe has not as yet re-established order, has not punished the offenders, has not set up a regular government, has not restored in deed and right the possessions violated by the rebels. For the present, we have still to discuss the preliminaries of peace. This interlude may be useful, as it will give time to the other international forces, still on the way out, to reach China; and the conditions of peace will be dictated with more effectual security if supported by an imposing array of troops.

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But, without making any forecasts, may I be allowed to express the hope that the harmony reigning between the great Powers may survive this hard trial? It is necessary for all of them to understand the danger of dissension, which might (God forbid the supposition, even!) transfer the war from the land of the barbarians to civilized countries. China cannot be considered as the booty of war to be divided. If this were the case, the cause of civilization would disappear and the rights of conquest, sad survivals of the Middle Ages, would get the upper hand. China must, instead, become, as I have already said, a market open to progress, science, art, industry; to all, in fact, of the most genial and beneficent manifestations of human activity. China must cast off the garment of the barbarian, worn for centuries, and be clothed anew, since new times, new wants of humanity are knocking loudly at her doors; and, united to the other Powers, she also will be, when the time comes, an instrument of civilization. Europe will not be repaid for her present action and the sacrifices it will necessitate by war indemnity or concessions of territory alone. But the opening of the largest market the world has ever known will be the certain means whereby all may harvest wealth in a future which the work of men and their governments will endeavor, in their own interests, to bring about as soon as possible. This accord will be rendered surer and firmer if the long, laborious and most difficult diplomatic work which lies before us be conducted in a spirit of moderation. One thing is certain, and that is that each nation must receive a reward in proportion to the sacrifices it has made. The weak, or those who for political reasons have shown themselves such, the avaricious and the incapable, will not have the right to complain when all is over; because, in politics as well as in agriculture, the mother of all doctrines and all examples, the harvest does not only depend upon the skill of the laborer in the field, but upon the quantity and the quality of the seed sown.

But the claims of justice must not be forgotten. It is impossible to deviate from the objects in which the intervention originated; to withdraw without having accomplished those objects satisfactorily would be such an evident proof of incapability that the cause of civilization could not hope, for many long years to come, to triumph in the far East.

Among the European Powers now in China, the one which

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shows, for the moment, the greatest firmness, the strongest will, is Germany; because, aside from her strong impulse toward colonial expansion, she knows exactly what satisfaction she intends to get for the bloodthirsty insult she received. The treacherous assassination of a diplomatic representative cannot remain unpunished. "Wherever there is an Englishman, there is England," was said at the time of England's greatest colonial conquests.

William II. has used far more decided and severe language than this. He is a man of iron will and of noble feeling; and the powerful nation which, in such a short space of time, has risen to such power is with him, heart and soul. Of one thing we may feel sure; and that is that the subtle windings of diplomacy will not bend the German Empire to unforeseen and unbefitting renunciations.

Among the mementoes of the good will of the German Emperor, I have here before me his portrait, underneath which he wrote: *"A gentilhomme, gentilhomme; à corsaire, corsaire et demi."*

That is the motto, that the programme, of this powerful sovereign. And after the insult offered in Peking to his country, he will rigidly carry that programme out. Of that I feel convinced.

F. CRISPI.

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A GLANCE AT THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

BY J. J. BENJAMIN CONSTANT, MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

THE collection of Sir Richard Wallace is a gift of specially great value, a truly national boon. As a Frenchman, I may be allowed to regret that this wealthiest of collectors, who lived so long in France and was almost a Parisian, did not leave some part of his collection to the Louvre Museum. Still, England is not far from France, and the trip across the Channel is so short that all who really love painting will surely find time to visit the new gallery. In this connection, I must say that I do not understand why young artists do not more frequently and in greater numbers visit that country of good painting, for in England good paintings are to be seen everywhere. There is not an old family on the walls of whose ancestral home are not to be found a landscape by Constable or Gainsborough, portraits by Reynolds and Lawrence, not to mention numerous examples of Van Dyck.

Through the exhibition of such a collection of masterpieces as is contained in the Wallace gallery, the taste of the public is educated, connoisseurs are made, and the way is prepared for the birth of the great painters of the future.

Let us do justice to the English public, who, despite the national fondness for sports, are nevertheless much interested in the things that pertain to art. It must be some consolation to living artists, who are being so perpetually compared—and not always to their advantage—with the dead, that the English public are as much interested in the present as in the past. It was so in the time of Gainsborough, Reynolds and Sir Thomas Lawrence. At that period, England was waging war all over the continent of Europe, as well as in America; and at such moments, painting is

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always somewhat neglected, for painting is essentially an art of peace. But it is more than certain that in England, as elsewhere, the masters did not live an easy life, and found the majority of people indifferent to their art. It is at most but twenty years since a revival of admiration, in which France to some extent shared, began to render justice to the school of English painters of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. In France, landscape painters made some acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the school of 1830 for the two English masters who influenced their work—Gainsborough and Constable. Outside of the landscape painters, Eugene Delacroix, among the historical painters, has left in his correspondence several pages glowing with admiration for Reynolds, Lawrence and Bonnington.

All honor to the dead! The living, however, cannot but feel that, in all countries, the greatest mistake that talent can make is to be contemporary, and that at times the merits of masters who are dead are exaggerated at the expense of those who are still alive. But, after all, that is of little consequence, since a true artist loves his art above all else, and for that reason he finds his reward largely in the happiness which he experiences in its pursuit.

But let us return to that palace of art, the Wallace gallery.

* * *

First of all, I must be permitted to pay my respects to those painters of French grace and gallantry, Watteau, Boucher, Greuze and Prud'hon. Watteau surpasses the others by his cleverness and unerring knowledge, by his warm and delicate coloring. The two large canvases by this master which hang in the Wallace gallery, while very agreeable to look at, are not, however, among his best works, and are not to be compared with the *"Embarquement pour Cythère"* of the Louvre Museum; but the two little panels, *"Gilles et Sa Famille"* and *"La Leçon de Musique,"* are gems of art.

Gilles is to the life the strolling player whom every one knows, the impudent, bold amuser of gay society, who, while remaining the professional whose business it is to make the great ones laugh, mocks them without seeming to do so. How keen those eyes are, how insolent, malicious, and full of merry scorn! How nervously are the fingers drawn, how correct is the action! You

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can see them run over the strings of the guitar, and lay greedy siege to the purses of his auditors for the little money he needs. With what masterly skill is the clothing painted, and without any exaggeration. In short, it is all living, sensuous, intelligent. No painter has ever better represented the gay, joyous life of careless enjoyment. On all sides, people suffered at that period, they fought many a time and gloriously and in a generous spirit, but without profit; and the happiness of living was but rarely experienced. So, before *"le passer au deluge,"* men hastened to fall in love with beautiful women, and to lie at their feet on the greensward of some great park. It was so good to think of nothing, scarcely to dream, to brush the strings of a guitar, to forget one's soul while gazing into beautiful eyes, to hear no longer the boom of cannon in the fields for listening, in the silence of the woods, to the songs of birds at the setting of the sun, or to the light laugh of some gay lady in reply to the burning declarations of a persistent wooer. Watteau was certainly the painter of this amorous and heedless eighteenth century. This sad man—for it would seem that he was really of a melancholy temperament—was the most cheerful of painters, and one who combined great knowledge with the most delicate and clever execution. Watteau will always be the greatest painter of the end of the eighteenth century, and the most truly French.

* * *

By the side of Watteau, Greuze also had grace, but he often descended to the merely pretty, a painter of the boudoir, insipid and affected. One must, indeed, be enthusiastic to admire the young woman, one of his favorite models, who is forever raising her eyes to heaven so as to make them seem larger, with much of the expression of a bleating lamb. The face is rounded to excess, and seems more like soft wax than beautiful, living, rosy flesh! Yet Greuze has painted some remarkable portraits of men—he well understood the great lords of his time. I commend to the admiration of every one those which are to be seen in the Louvre Museum, and which show Greuze in his best light.

* * *

Prud'hon was also a painter of grace, but with classic aspirations toward Beauty. A survivor of the eighteenth century in the first days of the Consulate, dazzled by the rising glory of Bona-

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parte, he was one day to become the composer and designer of that art-jewel of Fontainebleau,—the cradle of the little King of Rome. He was one of the most inspired masters of the Empire style, and the exponent of the Græco-Roman transformation of that time which Josephine de Beauharnais had brought into fashion, and which so much influenced the feminine costumes of Malmaison and the Tuileries. The canvases in the Wallace gallery which bear the signature of Prud'hon do honor to French art, but it is still to the Louvre and to the gallery of the Duc d'Aumale at Chantilly that one must go to see this master at his best.

* * *

Let us now pass to the three French masterpieces of the school of 1830—*"Les Sorcières de Macbeth,"* by Corot; *"Marino Faliero,"* by Eugene Delacroix, and *"Le Soleil Couchant dans la Forêt de Fontainebleau,"* by Theodore Rousseau.

In *"Les Sorcières de Macbeth,"* against a greenish sky streaked with red rise the outlines of great oaks. In the depths of their shadows are seen two passing horsemen. The witches are at the left; they have started up with a gesture which seems to say, "Macbeth, thou shalt be king!" All that was merely an excuse for doing a characteristic landscape, an admirable bit of painting, a masterpiece. Never has Corot painted with a broader, richer, more elaborate touch. Never has power been expressed with more facility, more nimbleness of hand. You can hear the leaves rustle. What poetry of Nature is in this never-to-be-forgotten picture. It is executed in a masterly manner, and without any abuse of technique. What a lesson in Art and Painting! Young artists who allow themselves to tire so quickly of composition would do well to pass long hours before Corot's pictures. This sincere and healthy-minded painter would give of his artistic strength to those morbid ones who are now so much the fashion, to the awkward and pretentious imitators of the early Italians. No one is primitive to-day, so let us remain in our own times and live in the daily apotheosis of Nature.

* * *

Let us now turn to another masterpiece, the *"Marino Faliero"* of Eugene Delacroix. Around a great, light space made by a marble staircase, and in a soft light, a symphony in red and gold, which is occasioned by the presence of the great nobles of Venice

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in their gorgeous attire, offers a wonderful arrangement of colors. The reds are kept dull, but here and there a cap of vermilion or orange bursts out like a flower in the sunshine, making an isolated note in the general accompaniment. At the foot of the staircase is a dark, bluish spot; it is an Oriental carpet. Upon this carpet, a headless body clad in a light garment with a great blood-stain, and the executioner as richly dressed as the great lords who surround him, and who have come to witness the delivery of the fatal stroke—all add to the startling effect of barbaric splendor. Into this red symphony comes most appropriately, and just where it should, the touch of resplendent gold in the robe of the Doge, the robe of Marino Faliero, of him who has betrayed the Republic.

All this is grandly depicted with a tragic brilliancy, as should be a Venetian drama of that period of splendor when on the doublet of red brocade the red of blood was invisible. They killed one another in the sunlight in that city of passion, sometimes at night amid the silence of the canals, at the sweet hour of serenades.

Such a subject for romance and its brilliant scenic possibility well suited that ardent colorist, Eugene Delacroix, and he has made a masterpiece from it.

* * *

"Soleil Couchant dans la Forêt de Fontainebleau," by Theodore Rousseau. The sun sinks on the horizon. The day has been warm. The cows are coming to drink. The rays of the setting sun are like red gold among the trees. With these few eternal notes, Theodore Rousseau has chanted a hymn to Nature, which is aflame in a divine transfiguration of evening.

Having drawn the trees one by one in forms absolutely corresponding to their essential character, having drawn the sky and the ground and the cows that are coming to drink, and having drawn it all patiently and lovingly for the sake of supplying himself with a lasting background, Theodore Rousseau has over-shot it with rich, transparent tones that spread all over the landscape, the coloring of precious stones, where the topaz mingles with the opal, the emerald green with the lapis-lazuli, and delicate rose with the fire of the ruby. Never has any one made more masterly use of material so rare. Never has a painter been more of a lapidary in execution. After the brilliant coloring of Eugene

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Delacroix, we have the gem-strewn colors of Theodore Rousseau. Let us bow before these two great colorists.

* * *

On going into the great hall, we are attracted, at the left of the entrance, by a medium-sized canvas of Velasquez. It is scarcely rubbed in, being painted with the end of the brush, but with a free boldness which is entirely Spanish. In the distance is seen a Castilian château having somewhat the air of a farm, while in the foreground the young Don Balthazar is training a pony.

In the same room is another example of Velasquez, a portrait of a Spanish lady, and a painting of the highest order. What a richness of material is here, and how well preserved it is.

Thus much being said, I do not wish to overdo my explanation of the beautiful, but would leave to each one the task of discovering it for himself. Let us, however, look at the series of artistic pearls signed Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Thomas Lawrence. These pictures have been engraved by excellent artists, but no reproduction can equal an original. The work of these English painters would inspire even the uncultured with a love of painting. It is large, easy, and suggests a love of Nature. They are never entirely engrossed by the "subject." Even in a composition, the subject is, with the English masters, as well as with true painters of all countries, a mere pretext for a bit of congenial work. They are never absorbed, except in representing life. What is more attractive than this child, with great, shining eyes, holding her dog against her dainty breast, and saying to it, "I love you?" Such sweetness, such candor attracts both the heart and the eyes, and one longs to say to this exquisite baby, "And we, also, we love it, and we love your painter, the great Reynolds."

Apropos of the indifference to "subject," which, in all schools, masters of the true artistic temperament have shown, it may be well to return to it and speak of it in passing.

The colorists, the powerful handlers of pâte, have never considered the subject otherwise than as a means of representing life under such and such actions, or such and such aspects, joyful, or sad, or simply plastic.

Rubens in one of his most marvellous pictures, *"L'Enlèvement des Sabines,"* which hangs in the National Gallery, did not even take the trouble to dress his Sabines in the costumes of their

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day. Without any more ado he dressed them in the style of the seventeeth century. One might rather think it a kidnapping of beautiful Antwerp women on a Flemish fair day. But what difference does it make? He has *made* white shoulders that shine, sumptuous stuffs, warriors with glittering arms—all which is instinct with life, and blazes with the superb coloring of the greatest of Flemish masters.

Thus, the "subject" in Painting is not of great importance. It causes this beautiful art to descend to the level of mere story-telling, of the picture which appeals to the "man in the street." The crowd gathers before the pictures which depict various kinds of occurrences, before some battle-piece, for instance, of whose correctness it cannot judge, or some dramatic scene of history which may not even represent the facts. But this is of little or no significance. The curiosity of crowds is not based on proper knowledge, and everything in the shape of a figure-piece interests them. They pass by bits of real painting, or subjects treated by true artists, preferring those painters who are mere illustrators.

I must allow myself to tell an anecdote concerning this love of the "subject." A publisher of prints was once in despair over a certain proof which he was unable to sell. The subject, nevertheless, was one which he had supposed would take well. The engraving depicted a dog and her puppies, in their kennel, being tossed about upon the furious waters of a flood. The publisher's regular customers commented upon the perilous plight of the poor beasts, but did not buy the print. Then a brilliant idea occurred to the publisher. He requested the artist who had painted the original from which the engraving was made to add to the work a man in a boat, a rescuer, risking his life upon the tumbling waters to save the animals in distress. The change was made by painter and engraver, and forthwith the customers, no doubt reassured as to the fate of the poor animals, bought quite a number of copies.

As often as crowds go to expositions of paintings, they will stop before pictures for the sake of the "subjects," more or less sentimental, more or less historical, which they represent. But among these crowds there will always be some fastidious ones, some connoisseurs, who will go straight to the good bits of painting, to the true works of art, to the canvases which give the expression or the illusion of life.

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Reynolds, Gainsborough, Thomas Lawrence have splendidly achieved the victory of life over death. He still lives, that English admiral who holds the key of Gibraltar in his powerful grasp. Reynolds has perpetuated his victorious gesture, he has preserved his martial and rugged face, with his complexion as red as his coat.

When at Amsterdam, you admire the *"Syndics des Drapiers,"* you see the men before you still alive, posing their best for Master Rembrandt, looking at those who are looking at them, and you almost expect them to speak to you. Yes, Rembrandt has stolen them from Death, these worthy men, these fine burghers of Amsterdam, these famous cloth-merchants. And is not this continual resuscitation of the individual by the art of painting one of the miracles of human genius?

This ability of imparting life to their creations was possessed by Reynolds, Gainsborough and Lawrence; they all had it and showed it continually. To be convinced of this you have only to look at the central panel in the Wallace gallery, which is the "Portrait of Nelly O'Brien." Never have coloring and values been managed with more skill and feeling. The reflection of the face is transparent without being thin, and is handled with a full brush. What poetry is there in the soft light that comes from above through the trees. Never has any one represented with more facility and with more accuracy the charm and the grace of the English woman, although Romney has done it occasionally, and Lawrence very often.

But let us turn to the panel directly opposite. Here we see Rembrandt in all his strength, and Velasquez in all his elegance. This work of Rembrandt's certainly belongs to the epoch of his "Syndics" and of the *"Ronde de Nuit."* The *"Dame Espagnol"* is of the epoch of *"Las Meninas,"* and of the baby Balthazar in the Museum of the Prado at Madrid.

At last, as with everything here below, one becomes tired of admiring, even in this Wallace collection. We shall return to it later, so as not to forget any of the masterpieces which it contains.

J. J. Benjamin Constant.

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CHAUCER.

BY JOHN W. HALES, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE close of a century has often, as it has happened, synchronized with the death of some great writer; and the fact is extremely useful as a mnemonic, if for no other reason. In 1800 died Cowper, who made an epoch of importance in English literature, though his works are never likely again to enjoy the fame that not unnaturally attached to them under the circumstances of their first appearance. In 1700 died Dryden, who for over a generation had reigned by right divine the King of English Men of Letters, whatever rank has since been or shall be finally assigned him amongst our poets. In 1599 died Spenser, one of the greatest spirits of the greatest literary age in the history of England, a great Prince in Israel beyond all question, though he had his weaknesses and faults, as critics and criticasters have not been slow to point out. And in 1400 passed away Geoffrey Chaucer, not the "Father of English Poetry," as it was once the fashion to style him, but the supreme Poet of the Middle Ages, and undoubtedly, whatever his shortcomings, one of the greatest Poets England has produced.

We may add that it was at the close of a century that there died a certain royal author, for whom, with much justice, has been claimed the title of the greatest of English kings. The date of King Alfred's death, which has hitherto been commonly received, and which is to be observed in the celebration of his millenary, 901, is almost certainly wrong. But it is not yet a finally settled question whether the real date is 900, or 899. There seems some contradiction of evidence on the point, which we have not time or space now to discuss. It is enough for our present purpose to remark that the famous King and the century he did so much to make famous passed away together.

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It would seem that he whose death-day, half a thousand years ago, we now commemorate, had been for some time in ill health and of enfeebled powers, before the end came. He was born, as has been made of late quite clear, in spite of current but groundless assertions, in or about the year 1340, the birth-year of his great friend and patron and brother-in-law, John of Gaunt. So he was only some three score years old at the time of his decease. But that was thought a considerable age in those days. Occleve writes:

> "Of age am I fifty winter and thre.
> Ripeness of dethe fast upon me hasteth."

There is a reminiscence of this conception in Shakespeare's making King Richard the Second address his uncle, who was then only fifty-nine, as "Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster." Of course, many men lived longer, as Gower and Langland in the fourteenth, and as Malory and Fortescue in the following century; but the average of life was, for various causes, much shorter in the Middle Ages than now, and Chaucer at sixty thought himself an old man; and an old man he was. There is reason to believe that he wrote very little after the year 1390, or thereabouts.

He had lived a life of immense activity, and probably spared himself in no way. We hear of him first as a page in the household of a Prince of the blood, of Prince Lionel; and we have brief memoranda of frequent movements from one part of England to another—from Hatfield near Doncaster to Reading, to Windsor, to Woodstock, to Liverpool, to Anglesea. Then he had a terrible experience as a young campaigner in France in 1359 and 1360, of which probably his term as a prisoner was the least distressing part. The sufferings from storm and from other hardships on Easter Monday, 1360, are recalled in the name of Black Monday, which occurs more than two centuries later in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Then, we find him, a little later, constantly employed in the public service both at home and abroad—at the London Custom House, in Italy, in France, in Flanders. And in the midst of all this diplomatic and other business, and of all the tournaments and other gaieties and dissipations of the two Courts at which he was so well known a figure, we know that he was an indefatigable student, and that,

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after the discharge of his duties as a Civil Servant, he turned to his books with insatiable zest, though with a weary head.

Of his early educatlon we know nothing. There were good schools in London when Chaucer was a boy; but we cannot connect him with any one of them. Probably, to a large extent, he was a self-taught man—one whose literary attainments were mainly secured as he grew older and his delight in the best poetry within his reach developed and matured. He became thoroughly familiar with French and with Italian literature, and read many Latin writers both old and new, if not very accurately yet with undoubted interest and perseverance. The Science also of his time greatly attracted him, and clearly occupied much of his leisure and attention. Assuredly, as a many-sided student, he worked hard and incessantly, and gave himself not many holidays, only the flowers in the May time, he tells us, having power to make him leave his books, and revel in the beauty of new-arisen Nature.

Then he had troubles, private and domestic probably, certainly public and political. Several things suggest a suspicion that his married experience was not happy, whoever was to blame —it was not necessarily or exclusively the husband—and that his relations with his son Thomas, who rose to high distinction, were not much more satisfactory and cordial than those with his wife. However this may have been—the matter is very obscure—he pictures himself to us, in the "House of Fame," as leading a lonely, uncompanioned life out of his office hours, sitting "as dumb as any stone," and living:

> "As an heremyte,
> Although thyn abstynence is lyte."

That is, he confesses to being something of a *gourmet*—a fact that peeps out of many other passages of his works; for Chaucer never makes any pretense of being better than he was; there is no touch of the hypocrite in him. Not Horace or Montaigne or any other writer is more simply frank and natural. Then, his material prosperity, such as it was, coming to an end, he was involved in difficulties that, probably arising out of state intrigues, lost him his posts in the Civil Service, and reduced him to something like pennilessness. For some reason or other, in December, 1386, he was dismissed from the two positions he held

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at the Custom House, having then, it would seem, only certain pensions to live on, and of these, probably in great distress, he sold two in May, 1388. But

> "A merry heart goes all the day,"

and Chaucer was surely a merry hearted man—one

> "That ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine."

And he still hoped to complete the *magnum opus* he had so long designed—"The Canterbury Tales"—the fourth attempt he had made at a worthy expression of his lively genius; "Troilus and Cressida," "The House of Fame," and "The Legend of Good Women" having been begun with ardor but cast aside or hastily concluded when found inadequate for a full exhibition of his mind and art.

But some fifty years of unremitting toil and pleasure and thriftlessness had produced their inevitable results; and the tyranny of a premature old age began to oppress him who had lived so busily and so intensely, drinking "life to the lees, all times," enjoying greatly, suffering greatly. Chaucer's last ten years were, it would seem, years of much anxious care and physical debility. The golden age, to which he had so long looked forward, was not to come. His great work was never to be completed. What he was to do was well nigh done. It was much, but it was far less than his design. The world went wrong for him and with him. The reign of Richard II. contrasted miserably with the reign of Edward III., though, indeed, the contrast was a quite natural result. The policy which had been glorified by such brilliant battles as Crecy and Poitiers was followed by sore domestic discontent and wretchedness. Society was shaken to its foundations. It was no wonder that the literary harvest, for which there had been such long and industrious cultivation, could not under such circumstances be reaped and garnered. Chaucer was fully ripe for his great enterprise; he had taken unlimited pains with himself; his heart had watched and received, and his head was stored with knowledge. And he had produced work of merit unapproached in his day, and not so often approached since. But the coping-stone was now to be placed on the building; his supreme poem was to remain a splen-

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did fragment. The Latin poet insists that a great writer must have a mind disengaged from petty incumbrances:

"neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere sana
Paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget. Satur est quum dicit Horatius
Evoe!

"Quis locus ingenio, nisi quum se carmine solo
Vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
Pectora vestra, duas non admittentia curas?
Magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
Attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum

"Aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundit Erinnys.
Nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile deesset
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri;
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina."

Certainly the struggle for Chaucer, in his last decennium, was hard and fierce; and, though he fought his battle bravely, circumstances overpowered him. Morally he triumphed; but materially he was beaten, except perhaps just for the last few months of his life; and even then, though his pecuniary means were bettered, his health and strength would seem to have failed beyond recovery.

The short poems he wrote during this period all represent him summoning his best courage to endure an adverse fate. He strives nobly to learn the lesson of patience and fortitude—to brace himself to bear "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune;" and, like Sir Walter Scott and many another, he is, in the midst of misfortune, personally worthier of our respect and admiration than when he was well to do and living in comparative ease and wealth. In his *"Balades de visage sanz Peinture,"* his ballads of "The Unpainted Face"—*i. e.*, of reality, of things as they are, not as they seem—he resolves to be content with what means he has, however scanty, and to rise superior to all accidents:

"My suffisance shall be my socour;
For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye."

Socrates would not let himself be tormented by the freaks of the fickle goddess; he knew well how she lied; and

"I know hir eek a fals dissimilour;
For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye."

Fortune defends herself by saying that, by her inconstant dis-

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pensation, she has taught him many things, and that he must not expect her to be at his beck and call; that he was born in her "reign of variance," and must revolve on her wheel even as others revolve; and that he has no right to complain of, to "pinch at," her mutability:

> "For I thee lente a drop of my richesse,
> And now me lyketh to withdrawe me.
> Why sholdestow my realtee oppresse?
> The see may ebbe and flowen more or lesse;
> The welkne hath might to shyne, reyne or hayle;
> Right so mot I kythen my brotelnesse."

That is, she may exert her prerogative of changeableness, even as the sea and the weather. The poem, however, concludes with an appeal from Fortune herself to certain royal friends of Chaucer's, that they should allay, or cause to be allayed, his "cry and plaint," and by their intercession, if not by their direct help, see

> "That to som bettre estat he may atteyne."

Still more earnestly, in his *"Balade de bon Conseil,"* he schools himself to be quiet and resigned. He would fain withdraw from the crowd—"flee fro the prees;" and live simply and sincerely—"dwelle with sothfastnesse"—content with what little he has:

> "Suffice unto thy good, though hit be small."

Riches attract envy, and high position is perilous; the great secrets of living are not to "hoard" or to "climb," but to be content; to do well oneself, not merely to advise others; to be genuine and true.

> "Werk wel thyself that other folk canst rede,
> And trouthe shal delivere, it is no drede."

This is the concluding wisdom attained by Chaucer; this is his final creed, this belief in Truth the Deliverer.

> "That thee is sent, receyve in buxumnesse;
> The wrastling for this worlde axeth a fal.
> Her nis non hoom; her nis but wildernesse.
> Forth, pilgrim, forth. Forth, beste, out of thy stal!
>
> "Know thy contree; lok up; thank God of al;
> Hold the hye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede,
> And trouthe shall delivere, it is no drede."

With all his merriness, Chaucer was yet essentially no frivolous, but a grave and serious man. Even in his earlier poetry

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his thoughtfulness is perpetually apparent; and if, at one epoch of his life, when he wrote such tales as the Reeve's and the Miller's, he abandons himself for the nonce to what is coarse and animalistic, he defends himself by the necessity of dramatic faithfulness; and certainly he soon restrains such licenses and returns to his better self. Conceivably enough, he may at one time have taken part in the wild and disastrous extravagances of the Court of Richard II.; but, assuredly, he came soon to his senses, and not even the sober-minded Gower gives that light-headed monarch straighter or shrewder admonition. He tells him frankly that all is being lost by his utter instability—for "lack of steadfasteness."

> "Trouthe is put down; resoun is holden fable;
> Vertu hath now no dominacioun;
> Pitee exyled; no man is merciable;
> Through covetyse is blent discrecioun;
> The world hath mad a permutacioun
> Fro right to wrong, fro trouthe to fikelnesse,
> That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse."

And then the old poet, assuming the function of a prophet, solemnly apostrophizes the wayward King, who was so diligently sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind:

> "O prince, desyre for to be honourable;
> Cherish thy folk, and hate extorcioun!
> Suffre no thing that may be reprevable
> To thyn estat don in thy regioun.
> Shew forth thy sword of castigatioun;
> Dred God; do law; love trouthe and worthinesse,
> And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse."

But good advice was wasted on a governor who could not govern either himself or his realm; and, to quote the words of a very different type of man,

> "The skipping King, he ambled up and down,
> With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits,
> Soon kindled and soon burnt; carded his state,
> Mingled his royalty with capering fools,
> Had his great name profaned with their scorns,
> And gave his countenance, against his name,
> To laugh at gibing priests and stand the push
> Of every beardless vain comparative."

It was a sorry spectacle Chaucer beheld, in the world political, in the last year but one of the Fourteenth Century. Possibly, as has been thought, King Richard's brain had given or was giving

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way. Well might Shakespeare make the Archbishop of York a little later confess:

> "We are all diseased,
> And with our surfeiting and wanton hours
> Have brought ourselves into a burning fever,
> And we must bleed for it; of which disease
> Our late King Richard being infected died."

However, Chaucer having done what he could to bring to a sense of the situation him who was so wildly rushing to his doom, soon frankly attached himself to the Saviour of Society who then arose, the son of his old friend and patron, John of Gaunt; and, perhaps, the latest lines he penned are the *Envoi* to the "Complaint to His Purse," in which, happily not in vain, he invokes the Lancastrian's sympathy with his straitened circumstances:

> "O, Conquerour of Brutes Albioun,
> Which that by lyne and free eleccioun
> Ben verray king, this song to you I sende,
> And ye that mowen al myn harm amende,
> Have mynde upon my supplicacioun."

King Henry IV., four days after he came to the throne, granted the old poet forty marks (£26 13s. 4d., equivalent to some £340 of our money) yearly, in addition to the annuity his predecessor had granted him, thus nearly doubling his income. Thus, we may believe, his last months were spent in comparative comfort, so far as his income was concerned. His old vivacity was gone, though gleams of his characteristic humor shine out now and then in his latest pieces, as in his lines to Scogan, and to Bukton; he found composition, he tells us, and composition in English, not so easy as of old:

> "Princess! receyveth this complaynt in gré."

The Princess was probably the Duchess of York, and the poem submitted to her is what is known as the "Complaynt of Venus":

> "Unto your excellent benignitee,
> Direct after my litel suffisaunce.
> For eld, that in my spirit dulleth me,
> Hath of endyting al the sotelte
> Wel ny bereft out of my remembraunce.
> And eek to me hit is a greet penaunce,
> Sith rym in English hath swich scarsitee
> To folowe word by word the curiositee
> Of Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce."

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But his buoyancy of spirit never completely succumbed before any evils physical or pecuniary; at least it had its occasional revivals. On December 24th, 1399, he took a lease for fifty-three years, or less, should he die sooner, of a tenement called the "Rose in the Garden of St. Mary's Chapel"—*i. e.,* the old Lady Chapel, which preceded the building now commonly known as Henry the Seventh's Chapel—attached to the east end of the Westminster Abbey Church. He was, however, to enjoy his new quarters but for a very short period. There is no reason for rejecting the date October 25th, 1400, as the date of his death; that, certainly, three and a half centuries ago, was accepted as the date of his death. He was buried first in the Cloisters, as Stow informs us; and then, one hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the east aisle of the south transept, near the site of the tomb we now see, which was at that time erected in his honor by Nicholas Brigham, a minor versifier who, it would seem, felt that the great poet was insufficiently honored in his outside resting-place. Not long after that re-interment, Spenser and other poets found their last, long home in the same part of the same venerable pile, and the south transept became known forever as "The Poets' Corner," Browning and Tennyson its latest co-tenants. We will quote the exact words of Camden from what is the earliest guide book to the monuments of Westminster Abbey:

"In Australi plaga Ecclesiae:
Galfridus Chaucer Poeta celeberrimus, qui primus
Anglicam Poesin ita illustravit, ut Anglicus
Homerus habeatur Obijt 1400. Anno vero 1555
Nicholaus Brigham Musarum nomine hujus
ossa transtulit [from 'the Cloister'], et
ille novum tumulum ex marmore his versibus
inscriptis posuit:

"Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notae subsunt quae tibi cuncta notant.

25 Octobris, 1400.
Aerumnarum requies mors."

Possibly, or probably, these verses and the words that follow were copied from the original gravestone.

Never was death more truly described as "a rest from troubles." It is conceivable that amongst his vexations was some

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narrow-minded priest that persuaded him in his weakness of body and mind to apologize for much that needed no apology. It cannot, indeed, be said of him, as is very dubiously said of another poet, that:

> "His chaste Muse employed her heaven-taught lyre
> None but the noblest passions to inspire,
> Not one immoral, one corrupted thought,
> One line, which dying he could wish to blot."

But it can most truly be asserted that the general tone of his work is healthy and health-giving, and that, in judging of certain grossnesses that offend the modern reader, we must carefully take into account both the manners of his age and his creed and principles as an artist. Once on a time, men were naked and not ashamed; and that time had not entirely passed away when Chaucer wrote. He is at times frankly and simply natural; but he cannot be accused of deliberate and lingering sensuality. He takes men as he finds them, and does not shrink from portraying the coarse as well as the refined. He knows that all sorts go to the making of the world, and he paints all sorts. But he never forgets that a villain is a villain; and no one has given more sympathetic pictures of what is liberal, noble, chivalrous. So we would fain believe that the "Retraccioun" mentioned in the final passage of the "Canterbury Tales" were either a sacerdotal suggestion or were made by him when he was no longer his sane and clear-headed self. He thanks our Lord Jesu Christ that he has translated Boethius's *"De Consolatione"* and other books of Legends of Saints and homilies and morality and devotion; but, undoubtedly, we should not now be caring to commemorate his quincentenary, if he had been represented in literature only by such works as he mentions or refers to—such works as the Parson's Tale, and the Prioress', and the Second Nun's, and the Tale of Melibeus. "The Enditings of worldly vanities" that he would revoke in the concluding paragraphs of the "Canterbury Tales"—"the Book of Troilus; the book also of Fame; the book of XIX. Ladies; the book of the Duchess; the book of Saint Valentine's Day, of the Parliament of Birds"—these are all works of great promise or of great performance, works of singular beauty and power, if now and then somewhat free-spoken and unrestrained, whose destruction by any illiterate father-confessor would have been a grievous loss to the nascent human-

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ism of the Middle Ages and to English Literature. Monks and friars may have resented the too faithful portraitures of their orders or disorders; but, though we cannot doubt there were many of these persons that were not mere worldlings and profligates, yet both contemporary history and contemporary literature abundantly ratify the exhibitions of monastic corruption that Chaucer brings before his readers. But to have exposed the irreligiousness of the so called "religious" need have caused the poet no remorse in his last hours; it should rather have cheered and soothed him. He had made his protest against hypocrisy and Pharisaism, because in his heart of hearts he revered truth and piety, however careless at times his language and his humor.

Virgil, as he was passing into the land of the Shadow of Death, wished that his unrevised Epic might be burnt. His exquisite taste shrank from leaving behind him work not absolutely finished and perfected so far as might be. Happily for all lovers of poetry, a desire that would have deprived the world of many literary passages of almost faultless beauty, however incomplete the work as a whole, was not executed; and, happily for English Literature, Chaucer was not able to exterminate or to withdraw writings that are a treasure of enduring price.

For already his works were held in the highest esteem, and all the lesser but not unendowed spirits of his age gathered round him as their lord and master. His poetic kingship was not only unchallenged; it was loyally and heartily accepted. And it became so supreme, and its acknowledgment so general and so uncritical, that, in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most unattached poems and even some attached ones were ascribed to him.

His reputation, incomparable at the time of his death, has, of course, in later generations had its times of obscurity and eclipse. His vocabulary and grammar became to a large extent obsolete, just as Bacon believed the Elizabethan language would be, and Waller that of the Restoration period. And that very popularity we have mentioned proved detrimental to a true appreciation of his genius, as so much that he did not write and so much that was altogether unworthy of any connection with him was sent down to his credit or discredit.

A new era in our knowledge of Chaucer began with the studies of that excellent scholar, Thomas Tyrwhitt, admirably

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followed up and extended by Professor Child, Dr. Ellis, Dr. Furnivall, Dr. Morris, Professor Ten Brink, Professor Skeat, and many others in England, in America, and in Germany. And at the close of the Nineteenth Century, which is, as we have seen, just five hundred years since Chaucer's death, we may venture to say that he is more widely and intelligently appreciated than he has ever been before. His works have been edited with the reverent care and the high ability that till lately have been reserved for "the Classics" of Athens and of Rome; and the recognition of him as a great master in literature is no longer confined to an enthusiastic, but not always discriminating, band of bookworms and archæologists. He is no longer known through well-meaning versions and perversions, but heard to speak with his own voice. And the numerous pieces wrongly ascribed to him—pieces proved not to be his by endless arguments, by their grammar, their metre, their language, their fulness, their allusions, their acknowledged composition by other persons—have ceased to form part of what was so blindly and comically called his works. We do not say that all these compositions were mere rubbish; some undoubtedly deserved to live, and are important products of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But, to adopt the old Greek cry, when the drama was passing on to subjects unconnected with the god whose worship was originally concerned, what had they to do with Chaucer? The most admirable recent contribution to Chaucerian literature, and to a real knowledge of his grammatical and metrical style and characteristics, a volume that forms a most excellent commemoration of his quincentenary, is Professor Skeat's "Chaucer Canon; with a discussion of the works associated with the name of Geoffrey Chaucer," with a well-chosen motto from the Epilogue of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar:

"Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus his style."

JOHN W. HALES.

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NEW YORK AND ITS HISTORIANS.—I.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

A COMPLETE History of Miswritten Histories would be, of course, the most instructive book in the world. We can never hope for it, but now and again profitable fragments of it are put forth. Modern research or modern progress in clear thinking revises some long-accepted story of the past, and the most valuable part of the newer version is its showing of the causes why the older was written and believed.

This has been the case, for instance, with regard to the colonial history of New England. Until recently it had been treated almost altogether in what Mr. Charles Francis Adams calls a "filio-pietistic" spirit. But now that this fact and the reasons for it have been recognized, a basis has been laid for a juster understanding of the times and the men in question.

The history of the City of New York has never been read through a filio-pietistic glamor. But in an opposite way it has been more grossly misunderstood than the history of New England; the hour of its clarification has been longer delayed; the story of its falsifying is not yet well known; and until this story is known, the true import of the history itself cannot be felt.

It is an interesting story, showing that ironies of circumstance may as long and as deeply affect the world's estimate of a community as of an individual. In part it reveals reasons for misrepresentation which are the same in kind as those that appear when we study the facts about New England, although very different in result. I mean that the character of the people of New York and the course of their development have logically affected the way in which their local historians have written. But this character and this course were in themselves exceptional as

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compared with those of the other American colonies. And the long miswriting has also been due in part to peculiar mischances, and, again, to the curiously harmful influence of a book written with no evil intent.

The New England colonies were homogeneous in blood and speech, safe from all foes excepting red ones, self-governing from the first, and for fifty years practically undisturbed by their nominal over-lords in England. They were ruled by self-conscious, self-confident sectaries who were satisfied with their condition, proud of their prospects, and keenly aware of the fact that they were playing an important rôle in the eyes of the present and the future as the founders in a new world of new commonwealths upon novel patterns. Naturally, they nourished troops of chroniclers—minutely careful diarists, garrulous biographers and memoir writers, voluminous letter writers, clergymen who discussed all contemporary matters in print as well as from the pulpit, and compilers who wove into more formal narratives the threads thus lavishly spun. And, naturally, the tenor of almost all this writing was of a sort to inspire in later years a succession of filio-pietistic historians.

Quite as inevitably, New Netherland did not chronicle its works and ways in the same spirit as New England, or with the same voluminousness. Its people were diversified in blood, traditions and speech; although Dutch and Flemings largely preponderated among them, they included numbers of Frenchmen, some Britons, and so many odds and ends of humanity that twenty years after Hudson had discovered Manhattan fourteen languages were spoken in its streets. Ruled not by itself and not even by a European state, but by a selfish mercantile corporation, New Amsterdam was always dissatisfied with its political and commercial condition. It suffered more at the hands of the Indians than any important New England town. It was bent upon trade, not upon protest, propagandism, or demonstration of any kind. It was liberal in religion, and therefore, although more Christian in some respects than New England, it took its moral and spiritual self much more simply. Neither for spiritual nor for material reasons did it feel a strong sense of its own importance as a favorite of heaven, and apparently it did not consider at all what posterity might think about it. "Its people,"

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says Brodhead, "came with no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, eminence in holiness, or superiority in character. They were more accustomed to do than to boast. * * * Husbandmen and traders they chiefly were"; and although "men of science and acquirement were not wanting among the fathers of New York," many of them were in the service of the West India Company, which owned the province, and could write nothing except under its scrutiny. For these reasons it is natural that, while some excellent descriptions of the province, some interesting fragmentary narratives, and some important explanations of its political and commercial condition were written in its Dutch days, no full chronicle or long-continued diary was produced. Moreover, almost all its official and unofficial writings were veiled from later eyes by the Dutch language, and many of them were buried in the archives of the motherland until some fifty years ago. Before that time almost everything that historians wrote about New Amsterdam was gleaned from the chronicles of New England; and there were good reasons why the information that these supplied was misleading as well as inadequate. The self-approving spirit of the New Englander did not fit him to judge impartially of any one else; and, in addition to the general feeling of dislike for Holland which prevailed among Englishmen at that time, he had a special feeling of antagonism for the New Netherlander.

From the beginning Puritans and Pilgrims looked toward the fertile but sparsely settled Dutch province with an envious eye and moved upon it with an aggressive foot, taking advantage of its weakness and of the fact that its rulers in Holland, while neglecting it themselves, sternly bade it keep the peace with every neighbor. Gradually they thrust its outposts from the Connecticut River; in 1653 they induced Cromwell to despatch an expedition for its conquest; and steadily they pressed westward, on the mainland and on Long Island also, to the very doors of New Amsterdam, threatening its safety long before it was attacked in 1664 by the ships of the Duke of York. For thirty years before this time two cries dominated in all the many letters, petitions, and verbal appeals sent from New Amsterdam to Holland—one against the mingled neglect and oppression of the West India Company, and the other against the greedy boldness of New England. The same facts inspired in the mind of New

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England a feeling of dislike and contempt for New Netherland, and this was increased, of course, by the Puritan's hatred for all advocates of free speech and religious tolerance. Then, after New Netherland had become New York, its status as an unchartered royal province alarmed its northern neighbors, and the repeated claims of its governors to districts that they had absorbed constantly exasperated them. Thus, during early days, New England formed and expressed a very unjust estimate of the city on Manhattan, while, as always in that uncritical age, many things that had not come under a writer's own observation were set down as facts with small warrant or with none at all.

Moreover, mischance had already begun to work against the truthful chronicling of Manhattan's life. If Governor Peter Stuyvesant had not been a tyrannical and ill-tempered person we should have had fuller knowledge of the early history of the town he ruled. In 1649 Adriaen Van der Donck, one of its most cultivated and public-spirited citizens, returned to Holland as the agent of his fellow-townsmen who were struggling with the West India Company for the right to municipal self-government. After years of negotiation and dispute Van der Donck won their battle, and thereby he greatly incensed their governor. During his stay in Holland he had written the most valuable descriptions of the early state of the province that we now possess; and, intending to supplement these by a history of its settlers, he asked from the home authorities, before he set sail for New Amsterdam again, permission to examine its official records. They referred his request to Stuyvesant; but, as the history was never written, it may be assumed that the governor refused to give his enemy a privilege that might prove detrimental to his own or to the Company's good repute; and before any one else thought of basing such a narrative on so sure a foundation, the earliest and most valuable of the records had been lost.

After the year 1674, when New Netherland was finally ceded by Holland to England, the city on Manhattan, for one hundred years and two, was English in fact as well as in name. But it was always largely Dutch in blood and spirit. While New England, toward the end of the seventeenth century, lost a portion of its independence and was brought into closer connection with the home government, New York, as a conquered and a royal province,

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was wholly at the mercy of this government, and, becoming more and more the recognized centre of English influence in the colonies, had to struggle hard for each small measure of the liberties it desired. Inevitably its people split into two parties—an aristocratic and a democratic, a loyalist and a patriot—before any such sharp division showed elsewhere. And although the peculiarly hot political feuds of New York were not determined by facts of nationality, the persistent attachment of its Netherland folk to the speech, the customs, the ideas, and the Church of their ancestors, strengthened by the wholly Dutch character of the up-river districts, worked with other causes of disagreement against true civic unity and the development of that civic pride which finds a natural outlet in the writing of local chronicles and the cherishing of the memory of conspicuous citizens.

No other American town was in such a constant stir and seethe as New York all through the hundred years that preceded the Revolution. This fact is remembered, with some of its results as they showed just before and during the great conflict. But its unfortunate effect upon the writing of history is not as clearly recognized. For example, had the feuds that divided New York been less bitter and persistent, Jacob Leisler would probably have found a competent biographer, or his days an impartial chronicler, soon after his tragic death. But in fact nothing was written about these days except a mass of excitedly, abusively controversial papers and pamphlets, most of which were not printed until Leisler had been dead for a hundred and fifty years. They tell each side of the story in a confused and fragmentary as well as a partisan way. They are so voluminous, yet so scattered, so contradictory, and in some respects so baffling, that no pen has yet attempted to set forth their contents in a full and conscientious fashion. Nevertheless, their bitterness has flavored almost every pen that has referred to the period they cover, making its results an absurd panegyric or an unjust arraignment of the Leislerian party, and thus failing to explain the real reasons why it survived its chief so long and had such a strong influence upon local affairs. Naturally, most of the historians of our national life fail in their treatment of an episode which even those who deal specifically with New York have not rightly handled; and so it has slipped out of the popular memory, although no other of as

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picturesque and dramatic a sort occurred in any colony in pre-Revolutionary times. It is almost the same with the Zenger trial for libel and high treason. This was not an episode of simply local significance. Establishing the freedom of the press in New York and assuring it to the other colonies, it was the most important event that happened in our parts of America before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. In regard to it there is no dispute about facts, motives, characters, or results, and it is not actually ignored or mishandled in our general histories of colonial times. Nevertheless, it has not been as fully or as emphatically celebrated as it should be. Our children do not know the story by heart as they do even minor anecdotes about New England's experiences; and, indeed, adult Americans, unless they are professedly students of our past, rarely recollect even the names of John Peter Zenger and Andrew Hamilton.*

During the eighteenth century the historians of New England naturally copied the mistakes of their predecessors in regard to New Amsterdam. Their bias against New York remained almost as strong, for the feeling of enmity between the two regions did not die out until after the Revolution, and the unquestioning self-approval of New England also persisted. And meanwhile New England's loving grasp upon the pen was still practically undisputed by New York.

The causes that kept New York politically restless worked indirectly as well as directly against the development of a local historical school, harmfully affecting its general intellectual condition. In a bi-lingual town, and one where the government barred the way as firmly as it could to all liberal and progressive ideas, education was at a lower ebb than in the more homogeneous

*When the results of the revolution of 1688 were known in America, and when Governor Andros (who was in charge of New York as well as of New England) was thrown into jail in Boston, the popular party in New York placed at their head Jacob Leisler, a merchant of German birth and the senior captain in the city militia. Although he was bitterly opposed by a new-born "aristocratic" party, he ruled the province for two years. Then, after the arrival of a new governor, he and his son-in-law were convicted of high treason and hanged. A few years later the parliament of England reversed the attainders, thus clearing the memory of Leisler and Milborne, and ordered that their confiscated estates be restored to their families.

John Peter Zenger, a newspaper editor, was tried for high treason in 1734 because his journal had criticised and opposed the local government. He was defended by Andrew Hamilton, a lawyer, who came from Philadelphia to defend him after those in New York who appeared for him had been disbarred by the court, and was acquitted, amid great popular rejoicings, in spite of the utmost efforts of the government to secure a different verdict.

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and independent towns of New England; and this meant that literary activity in all directions was much less. Before and immediately after the Revolution New York accumulated a great deal of valuable material for the writing of its history. But much of it remained in manuscript until long after our own century had begun; and such was the case even with the second and more important part of the only history of the town and province that was attempted before 1800.

This was the work of William Smith, an accomplished jurist who took the Tory side in the Revolution and died Chief Justice of Canada. The first part of his book was published in 1756, but it brings the story down only to 1732, and therefore does not include an account of the Zenger trial. It says very little, and that little incorrectly, about the Dutch period. Probably the earlier records of this period had already disappeared. They may have been lost during the Dutch repossession in 1673-1674, when, the English said, some official papers were taken away; or, more probably, when all of them were transferred to Boston by the royal order in 1689 (after the incorporation of New York with the Dominion of New England), there to remain until 1691; or, perhaps, in a fire which destroyed the Government House in the old fort in 1741.* Even the surviving records of New Netherland were in a language unfamiliar to Smith. But these facts really mattered little in so far as he was concerned, for his method was not a scientific or a philosophical one in any modern sense. He himself acknowledged the superficial and partisan character of his book, and would not allow the second part of it to be published while he lived. This is more valuable than the first part as painting the author's own times, but it did not see the light until 1826.

The year 1804 should be marked with a bright letter in the annals of New York. Then its Historical Society was founded, and the influence of this association during its earlier years was strong and wholesome, while the many volumes of publications and republications that it has issued contain much of our best material for a reconstruction of our past. But, on the other hand, a black border should encircle the page in our annals that

* An inventory taken in 1753 shows that none of the city's papers then existing have since been lost, although some have grown illegible and others have been mutilated by autograph-hunters.

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is dated 1809, for it records the appearance of Knickerbocker's History of New York.

On both sides of the ocean this book was hailed as a triumph of literary art and a new glory for the new Republic. It has proved to be an enemy of the state, and its long vogue a civic disaster. It was written as a jest, of course, and as such it was received and has always been treated—ostensibly. But in fact it has done the work of a very able and very false historical document. To-day it shares the fate of many another "classic." Comparatively few people read it, and still fewer enjoy it; scarcely any, indeed, among the young seem to find in it the delicious quality of humor that their grandfathers and great-grandfathers all discovered, or can understand what Walter Scott meant when he said that its perusal made his sides "sore with laughing," and reminded him of "the style of Dean Swift" with "some touches" that recalled Laurence Sterne. Nevertheless, its reputation remains as great as ever; and the substance of what it says, and, above all, the tone in which it is written, having filtered through the minds of three generations, still affect the point of view of almost every American, not merely distorting his ideas in regard to this fact or that, this personage or another, but perverting his general mental and emotional attitude toward the place, the times, and the men in question. Irving's burlesque still dominates the popular conception of the history of early New York, and even the professed historian still helps to propagate its influence. Many an historical writer of to-day, although otherwise quite serious in mood and method, quotes long passages from Diedrich Knickerbocker, while more or less explicitly telling the reader they are not to be literally accepted. Others recast the substance of his fantasies without giving any warnings at all, or have plainly been biased by his temper or indirectly swayed by the general attitude of mind that it has nurtured. Unless one knows the true story of early New York as the "sources" now available reveal it, and unless one has traced, with Knickerbocker well in mind, the travesties and the minimizings of this story through a long list of highly dignified and popular modern histories for children and for adults, it is impossible to realize how deeply Irving's book, written, as his chief biographer says, "in pure wantonness of fun without a particle of malevolence," has injured the fame of the town that gave him birth, and how

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strongly it has worked against a right comprehension of his fatherland in its colonial days.

And there have been practical ill results from these perversions of judgment. Until very recent years the citizens of New York deserved reproaches that could be brought against no other Americans. They were rightly charged with being wholly ignorant of their past, and indifferent to it except in certain ways that may be called "social" in the narrow sense, antiquarian, or genealogical. New York has always been vaguely proud of its Dutch blood, and the individual New Yorker more definitely so. Even the name Knickerbocker soon lost its burlesque sound in this connection and became a synonym for the truly well born and bred. But below this thin stratum of self-satisfaction lay until very recently a deep indifference to the historic past, almost a contempt for it as compared with the better known, more loudly lauded past of New England. The fact was due to various causes—for example, to the great numbers of New Englanders who entered the city early in our century, to the floods of foreign immigrants that swept into it sooner than into any other, and to its lack of veracious chronicles. Yet unquestionably it was due in great part to the direct influence of Irving's unveracious chronicle; and it has been a most unhappy fact. For, who can calculate the effect of a high and proud quality of local patriotism in training the youth of a Republic for conscientious civil life? And who can estimate in how far the modern political condition of New York has been due to a lack of this feeling among the educated as well as among the ignorant classes of its people? Now a reaction is beginning and, as one might expect, it shows two phases. Our evident advance toward a more conscientious acceptance of the duties of to-day is accompanied by a visible development of interest and pride in the story of our local past; and this means, or will mean, the waning of Knickerbocker's influence.

There have always been some voices to protest against the influence of Irving's book. When it was first published certain people of Dutch descent felt deeply outraged by its tone. They were told that they had no literary taste and no sense of humor. But apparently they foresaw that it would have another influence than that of pure literature or pure fun. For example, in an address delivered before the Historical Society and printed in part in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of March, 1819, Gulian C.

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Verplanck felt it needful to comment upon that general prejudice against the Dutch which has spoken through many generations of English writers; and he said:

"It is more in sorrow than in anger that I feel myself compelled to add to these gross instances of national injustice a recent work of a writer of our own. * * * I allude to the burlesque history of New York, in which it is painful to see a mind as admirable for its exquisite perception of the beautiful as it is for a quick sense of the ridiculous wasting the riches of its fancy on an ungrateful theme and its exuberant humor on a coarse caricature. * * * How dangerous a gift is the power of ridicule! How often at its dread presence have the honest boasts of patriotism, the warm expressions of piety, the generous purpose of beneficence, faltered on the lips and died away in the heart!"

M. G. VAN RENSSELAER.

(*To be continued.*)

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"FROM INDIA TO THE PLANET MARS."

BY JAMES H. HYSLOP, PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND ETHICS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE fairies could not have pleased Alice in Wonderland more than M. Flournoy's recent book on the mediumship of Mlle. Smith will please two classes of readers. Those who are looking for romances dealing with the interest in another world can read this book with unabated fascination, if they can manage to shake off all scientific encumbrances, and if they can escape the author's explanation of his phenomena. On the other hand, the sceptic and scientific devotee can read it with the malicious delight of an iconoclast bent on demolishing the gods of the spiritualist. "From India to the Planet Mars" is a book that has appeared just at the psychological moment. The public has been prepared by the work of the Society for Psychical Research, and more especially by the Piper phenomena and Dr. Richard Hodgson's report on them, to expect some sort of a scientific revelation regarding another life, and hence to find a work appear immediately on a voyage of discovery in a portion of interstellar space, with the accompaniment of survival after death, is an incident well calculated to stimulate the imagination beyond all bounds. Indeed, the situation in the psychological world, of the unscientific sort, as met by this book, may be compared in some respects to the age of Columbus, and M. Flournoy's book to that of Defoe on the adventures of Robinson Crusoe, except that Flournoy carefully dispels the illusions which he conjures up in the name of spiritualism. Both the title and the subject matter suggest this comparison.

It is always the unknown, accompanied by the conviction that there is a reality in it to be reduced to the known, that offers the most attractive field of interest and exploration to the human

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mind, and it matters not whether it is inspected by the philosopher, the scientist, the religious devotee, the litterateur, or the common man. All can revel in it with equal impunity and delight. The discovery of Columbus found the human mind in this condition. The existence of a new world was itself a romance, and truth could easily compete with fiction in the supplies which new knowledge and hope offered to an insatiable curiosity. Homer and his creations were disappearing in the limbo of mythology, and men were fast becoming accustomed to the prosaic life of facts, made all the more uninteresting by the increased struggle for existence due to an increased population. Hence, a new world dawned upon hope and imagination as a refuge from the problems of civilization and a stimulus to the unwearied flight which the human mind is wont to take on the wings of poetry and fiction.

Now, psychical research, even though it may not have accomplished as much in the way of discovery as Columbus, certainly holds out definite hopes and promises to human interest. It has kept the religious mind on the *qui vive* for evidence of its most precious belief, while it has offered to some sceptical convictions a refuge from despair. M. Flournoy has taken advantage of this psychological situation, even though he expects to disenchant it, and has couched his work in terms that must tempt the wary and unwary alike into the labyrinths of a new world. The ordinary spiritualist, however, is walking into a spider's parlor when he accepts this invitation. The book is a thorough piece of scientific work in most of its aspects, especially in its exposure of the spiritistic claims advanced for his medium. It leaves little to be desired for the sceptic. The title simply invites you into a fairy land, while the discussion reduces you relentlessly to the commonplaces of ordinary life and illusion. Nothing can rival the painstaking care with which the author has run down every clue upon which spiritism might rely for its support.

The case is this. M. Flournoy, Professor of Psychology in Geneva, Switzerland, heard of one of the usual marvels in the circles of spiritism; and, not having any foolish dignities to respect, was not long in obtaining an introduction to the little coterie which was "investigating" the mediumship of a lady whom he denominates by the pseudonym "Mlle. Smith." She was found to be a lady of considerable intelligence, of irreproachable

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character, honest and sincere, and ready to submit her phenomena to investigation. M. Flournoy even says that she is beautiful, and that she accepts no payment for her experiments. Both of these qualities ought to attract the attention of the scientific mind. Mlle. Smith goes into a trance and purports to be controlled by a spirit who calls himself Leopold, and claims to have been Joseph Balsamo, the hero of a book by Alexandre Dumas, but who is better known in history as the famous Cagliostro. Besides him, there appear the unfortunate Queen, Marie Antoinette, a Hindu princess of the fifteenth century, and a young man who claims to be reincarnated on the planet Mars. The last named individual gives the language which, he claims, is spoken on that planet, detailing both the alphabet from which it is constructed and its interpretation in French. He describes the manners of life there, and draws representations of the houses in which its people live and specimens of the animal and vegetable organisms there prevalent. All of this has a most delightful flavor of romance, and it is given in a detail which cannot be expected here. The reader must go to the original or to the translation for a satisfactory account of the facts. The latter is fortunately accessible, and, I must say, has been unusually well done. The only exception that can be taken to it regards the abbreviation of the original, which is a misfortune for the scientific mind that is either unable or has not the time to examine the fuller account in French. To the one or the other, however, I must refer the reader for one of the most extraordinary books of the day, so well calculated is it to exact attention for the obscure phenomena of psychical research from those who have hitherto been content to play the part of scientific Philistines.

In all its external features, at least, the case is like the many instances of alleged spirit control. Mlle. Smith is wholly unconscious of what she does and illustrates in a remarkable degree what subconscious mentation can do to imitate the requirements of reality. The impersonations take the form of alleged reincarnations. It seems that spiritualism expresses itself in France in terms of that doctrine. The author discusses three types of it, the Martian, the Royal, and the Hindu cycles. Each represents a very plausible appearance; but only one of them, the Hindu instance, offers any serious difficulty to explanation by the author along the lines of normal psychology and psychiatry,

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The alleged reincarnation on the planet Mars is a remarkable production; that of Marie Antoinette is much less interesting. The Hindu reincarnation appears the most real, as it contains some features calculated to satisfy the demands of personal identity, though explicable by stretching the hypothesis of resurrected memories. In other words, examination showed that there was not the slightest evidence that spirits had anything to do with the production of the phenomena, but that they were the unconscious production of Mlle. Smith's own mind in the trance condition, playing on the obscure recollections of her own experience and receiving its impulse to do this from her normal conviction that her case was spiritistic.

The alleged inhabitant of Mars shows few, if any, resources in Mlle. Smith's memory except the most general outlines, but the impersonation is exceedingly rich in the material of spontaneous fabrication. In fact, this particular case is nothing but "the baseless fabric of a dream." The language, alphabet, representations of houses, animals and plants are shown to be unquestionably nothing but the production of Mlle. Smith's imagination in this unconscious state, worked out with marvelous originality and consistency. The products find their exact analogy in ordinary dreams. The language betrays its spurious character in its constructive resemblance to the French, which is Mlle. Smith's native tongue. Besides, there is not a vestige of anything leading to the identity of the person who claims this reincarnation on the planet Mars, and nothing otherwise that is plausible or probable. It is simply a pretty creation of the subliminal imagination, bent on producing something sufficiently unlike terrestrial realities to deceive the unwary; and it is one of the most appalling things in nature for the psychologist and moralist to be thus confronted with the devilish tendencies of unconscious mental action. We can hold the normal consciousness responsible, but the subconsciousness never. It seems constrained to fool us, but is not astute enough to accomplish its aim. It has, in this instance, however, played a wonderful game, whose trickery it is the merit of M. Flournoy to have exposed.

The impersonation of Marie Antoinette is less remarkable in all its superficial characteristics. It has no features which are not easily explicable by the resurrection of Mlle. Smith's own knowledge of that unfortunate queen's history, and the influence

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of ideation upon the histrionic representation of that queen's manners and character.

M. Flournoy confesses to some inexplicable phenomena in the Hindu impersonation. There are traces of the Hindu language and some remote historical incidents of a very early period that cannot be ascribed to the "medium's" fabricating imagination. The supposition that Mlle. Smith had at some time heard or seen enough of the facts, now wholly forgotten and unrecognizable when produced, and cropping up unconsciously as spirit messages, seems so improbable or difficult of proof that M. Flournoy admits being puzzled. But the entire success with which he discredits the alleged Martian phenomena, lends its support to the probability that the Hindu impersonation is precisely like it. For me it is not specially puzzling at all. I think that his theory of secondary personality is more easily applied to the Hindu case than the author supposes. Apparently, it is the improbability that Mlle. Smith had seen or read the book in which the facts are found that excites M. Flournoy's wonder. But, as the amount of the Hindu language delivered is very small, and the historical incidents mentioned in that princess' life are very few, it is easy to imagine the reading enough of it in some catalogue, newspaper, or article to account for their appearance in this pseudo-spiritistic form.

But what is so delightful in M. Flournoy's work is his scientific appreciation of the psychological problem before him, and the thorough way in which he has proceeded to deal with it, at least in all respects that concern the claims of spiritism. Nothing can equal the patience and perseverance with which he has pursued every clue to an explanation of the phenomena in terms of what we know in normal psychology. The incidents that would strike the ordinary mind as mysterious, or even miraculous, are easily reduced to simple and well-known phenomena of mind. Every nook and corner of the case is investigated, and no stone is left unturned for vestiges of subconscious mental action on the part of Mlle. Smith to account for the facts, and the success is as great as the effort. In so far as the evidence is concerned, the spiritist is left without any support for his theory. All this is accompanied with a most delightful sense of humor and a keen irony that might be called malicious, if it were not so just and the victims of it so deserving of this polite form of ridicule.

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There is apparent in some of it a suppressed feeling of ridicule that may be due to the necessity of being respectful toward the people whose kindness was instrumental in securing an opportunity to investigate the case. The style of presentation is most charming. In fact, the work is an excellent novel in all but the facts, and, in these, it is science of the best kind, wherever it applies psychological analysis to the refutation of spiritism. In this respect, it is beyond praise, and should be read by every man who is tempted to dabble in that subject.

Its chief interest, however, lies in the influence that it must exert upon the general course of psychical research. That subject has been so ignored and misunderstood by the scientific Philistine that he could not be persuaded by any important fact to touch it. He passed it by on the other side, holding his nose, or sneering at its alleged phenomena. But M. Flournoy has taught this supercilious class a lesson. He has shown that there are phenomena which have all the external characteristics of discarnate spirits, and yet are amenable to explanation without such a resource, though only on the condition that the most amazing subconscious mental activity be admitted, and admitted in a form that shows no trace of an automatic character. The outcome it will be interesting to watch. I shall expect the scientific Philistine to accept the book with great applause, as it affords such a fine text with which to lecture spiritualism. Psychical research will become at once a very important department of investigation.

Scepticism, of course, is most welcome in this subject which leads so close to the madhouse, but what a comment on the pretended scientific spirit, that it will give no quarter to a subject until its own preconceived opinions have been substantiated by some one who has not stood on his dignity in regard to the facts.

But, in spite of M. Flournoy's emphatic rejection of spiritism, he believes in telepathy, or thought transference, telekinesis, or the movement of physical objects without contact, and lucidity, or clairvoyance! It is apparent, however, that he does not rely wholly upon the phenomena of Mlle. Smith for his convictions on these subjects. He seems to indorse telepathy on the collective evidence published by the Society for Psychical Research, and telekinesis upon personal experiments with Eusapia Palladino. Clairvoyance he seems to adopt without any evidence that I can

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discover, and he combines telepathy and clairvoyance to explain some of his own facts, which he fears might otherwise be amenable to the spiritistic theory. But there is something very strange in this acceptance of these supernormal phenomena, though M. Flournoy does not regard them as supernormal at all! He puts a very peculiar meaning on this term. He speaks as if it were convertible with the supernatural. He considers these processes as perfectly *natural,* and in the case of telepathy speaks of it as something rather to be expected than doubted! You would suppose that the "supernormal" sustained the same relation to the "normal" that hyperaesthesia sustains to aesthesia; but no, it is made equivalent to the supernatural, and this assumption simply annihilates all rational perspective in the case. Let us examine his position in regard to these several remarkable powers, which he attributes so easily to the human mind without supposing them to be anything more than normal and natural.

It must be conceded, at the outset, that M. Flournoy has investigated and analyzed the facts bearing upon these hypotheses with something like the same method and care as he did those claiming to be spiritistic; but he is, nevertheless, distinctively less cautious in his convictions. He appears to be so ready to accept these theories as natural and normal, that he finds no such reason to be sceptical as he supposes is obligatory in regard to spiritism. Take, for instance, his indorsement of Eusapia Palladino. He does not state a single fact in proof of her genuineness. We have only the author's *ipse dixit.* This is all the more amazing after Dr. Richard Hodgson's exposure of that clever fraud. No case of that kind should be admitted without letting us into the knowledge of the facts. Of course, it can be said that it is no part of the present work to discuss her phenomena. But this, taken in connection with her exposure, is all the more reason for silence unless good evidence beyond an *ipse dixit* be produced. A theory based upon experiments with Eusapia Palladino, and designed to explain some of the phenomena observed in the case of Mlle. Smith, should come with far better credentials than are here offered. The author's illusion about the "natural" betrays him, in this instance, into a disposition to credit phenomena that are far more revolutionary in physical science than spirits can possibly be either in physics or psychology. The reason for this judgment I shall give again.

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Let us examine M. Flournoy's example of telekinesis in the case of Mlle. Smith. Two oranges were found removed from their places, under circumstances involving either the dishonesty or the mal-observation of the witnesses, as alternatives to explanation by telekinesis. M. Flournoy offers the choice between these hypotheses and the subconscious action of Mlle. Smith; though it is evident that he inclines to telekinesis. This is fair enough; but I am amazed to find that no such care is taken to examine the facts and their conditions as was shown when exposing the claims of Leopold, Marie Antoinette and the mysterious Martian. There are two ineradicable defects in the author's treatment of the case here. First, he is apparently ready to attach weight to mere testimony, and that of the parties interested in their theory. Secondly, he has not applied carefully to the phenomena his own hypothesis of secondary personality, while that supposition seems to me entirely adequate to its explanation. M. Flournoy does not give us the full details, as they should be given in so important a matter. We should know the exact amount of time involved in the occurrence of the phenomena, the occupation of the witnesses, their position in the room and in relation to Mlle. Smith, their capacities for observing facts of this sort, and every little incident bearing upon a complete record of the observed facts. But there is not a word of this, and apparently no conception of the necessity for such details. It is all the more remarkable, after the author's scepticism of his witnesses' testimony for spiritism, that he should be less stringent in his methods when it is only a matter of telekinesis! Evidently, this is so natural and normal a process that it does not need careful verification. Moreover, after observing, in other connections, the readiness with which Mlle. Smith passes into and out of a trance without retaining any memory of it, why does not M. Flournoy refer to this fact as probably affording a clue to the explication of the case? Let me mention the instance of his walk with Mlle. Smith, in which she went into a trance, suggested visiting the house of a friend, and awakened to know nothing of it and feeling very much embarrassed at her action. A better instance of this is that of writing a letter. She sat down to write a note to M. Flournoy, and in the midst of it passed off into a trance, and finished the letter in the language and incidents of one of the subconscious personalities. She mailed it, and never knew any-

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thing regarding this latter part of the letter until the fact was called to her attention by M. Flournoy.

Now, it would be easy to apply the same causes and conditions to the explanation of the throwing of the oranges, especially in the absence of all adequate accounts of the circumstances, and it is surprising that a man of M. Flournoy's usual scientific acuteness has not seen this. What is to hinder us from supposing that Mlle. Smith suddenly passed into the trance (a fact which M. Flournoy records over and over again), and threw the oranges without being noticed by the other persons in the room, and then awoke without any knowledge of her actions? M. Flournoy makes a few general observations in the direction of such an hypothesis, but he does not urge it with the enthusiasm displayed in applying the same theory against spiritism. He seems to think that telekinesis does not exact any serious objection from belief. As for myself, I must say that I do not think there is one iota of rational evidence for any such phenomena, and I should regard it as much more exposed to scientific objections than spiritism, which he is at so much pains to disprove. The same can be said of clairvoyance. I have never seen any adequate evidence of such a power, and I think M. Flournoy is persuaded to accept it much more because he thinks it a weapon with which to combat spiritism than on the grounds of scientific evidence.

I come next to his consideration of telepathy. He recognizes that this doctrine is not accepted by the scientific world in any form whatever, but he does not flinch under this. His attitude, however, toward scepticism regarding it is very curious. He expresses surprise that any one should have difficulties regarding it. This process which the scientific world scouts as absurd, as revolutionary in both physics and psychology, and as supernormal in every sense of the word, M. Flournoy regards as very probable *a priori*.

Psychical research ought to be very easy after such a verdict as this. It seems not even necessary to strain at camels. At any rate, the psychical researcher can stand and look on with a malicious smile, while the sceptic proclaims without evidence that telepathy is a very probable thing and one of the most natural things in the world. The plight of M. Flournoy's admirers here will be amusing, if they have laughed at the claims of telepathy. They are called on to be very sceptical if the phenomena

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claim to be spiritistic, but very credulous if they are only telepathic, telekinetic, or clairvoyant!

I must say, however, that I do not share M. Flournoy's tractable disposition regarding telepathy. I do not think it intrinsically probable, nor easy to believe on any evidence but that afforded by the most careful experiments. At its very best, it is nothing more than a name for coincidences, whose cause and explanation are yet to be determined. The popular mind makes it a most extraordinary power. It is endowed with unlimited access to the person's memory whose mind is read. But there is no adequate evidence for such a process: in fact, there is not one iota of respectable evidence for it. The only telepathy that can lay the slightest claim to recognition on scientific grounds, is the transmission of present active states of consciousness; and, in fact, it is probably the psychical researchers alone who admit this much. But such a thing as the selective telepathy necessary to reproduce personal identity is without any experimental support. Consequently, when a man uses the term, he must show that he is able to meet its responsibilities. M. Flournoy does nothing of this kind. He says enough to discredit telepathy of all kinds in his treatment of the only facts in his case that could possibly lay any claim to that explanation, and yet considers it something that may be taken for granted apparently without evidence. But that a man can sit down and gravely assume, without experimental proof, a sort of infinite access by some subliminal process to the memories of any living mind that the telepathic subject chooses to select, and yet claim to be scientific, is something that transcends my idea of science. I do not see why a man would take offense at spiritism after such a leap as that.

It all comes from the baseless assumption that spirits are supernatural and telepathy natural. I can conceive the very reverse of this, namely, that telepathy should be considered supernatural and spirits natural. M. Flournoy ought to know that modern idealism makes all talk about the natural as useless as the supernatural. When everything is natural, the term has no explanatory value whatever. In Greek thought, when the term was convertible with the physical and opposed to the immaterial, it had some importance; but, the moment that it became convertible with the uniform or invariably constant, it lost its value as an instrument for supporting a materialistic and mechanical

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view of the cosmos. But to me telepathy, even in the only form that has any scientific, or alleged scientific, credentials, so far from being natural in any accepted use of that term as a name for the constant and uniform, is so exceptional as simply to throw the reins loose to the maddest sort of philosophic speculation.

But let us concede with M. Flournoy that telepathy is "natural" and spirits "supernatural." How can he oppose telepathy to spiritism, unless he qualifies it with the power to effect all that might most rationally be attributed to spirits. I make bold to say that there are conditions under which a spiritistic theory is easier to believe than the telepathic. These conditions are that the contents of what purport to be discarnate communications be appropriate to the proof of personal identity. We should, of course, prefer to know something of the process by which the limitations of our access to a transcendental world can be overcome. But, as we must inductively form our hypothesis in any case, all suppositions to bridge this chasm must stand on the same footing; and, if the unity of the phenomena is best represented by inferring the continuance of an individual consciousness after death, we may consider the process of communication to be what we please. Besides, even as a conceded process telepathy is not anything that is known in the usual sense of that term. It is only a name for certain facts which require a causal explanation. It is convenient for limiting evidential claims, but it is not explanatory. But now, if telepathy be once granted as a fact, no matter what conception we take of it as a process, we have a phenomenon of the transmission of thought independently of the ordinary impressions of sense, and we should be violating no scientific principles if we supposed that, under favorable conditions, a transcendental consciousness might be able to intromit a message into a living mind. After telepathy is admitted, it is but a question of evidence to settle whether we are probably in communication with a discarnate spirit. If the phenomena alleged to be spirit messages represent what the proof of personal identity demands, a discarnate consciousness is the most natural supposition in the case. This conception of the matter is strongly reinforced by the fact that telepathy between the living, so far as we have any right to assume it at all, is limited to the present active states of consciousness, and shows no tendency to select its data with reference to the reproduction of personal identity, with its syn-

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thetic character and command of memory. With that limitation, we should have to suppose the continuance of consciousness after death to explain the facts. Without that limitation, we have a theory infinitely larger than the spiritistic, and wholly without any analogies in either physics or psychology. Hence, on *a priori* grounds, I see no reason for assuming any antagonism between the telepathic and the spiritistic theories. Once assumed, unless its limits are defined, telepathy becomes an evidential difficulty against the spiritistic doctrine; but, when it begins to take on the proportions of infinitude, it plays into the hands of its competitor, which conforms to the demand that a process shall be finite if it expects scientific recognition.

But it is precisely because his data do not represent any evidence of personal identity that M. Flournoy is justified in rejecting the spiritistic theory in his special case. It is not because telepathy is either a normal process or a function incompatible with the operation of discarnate souls. Leopold, Marie Antoinette, and the Martian inhabitant ought to have given us some evidence of personal identity, as in the "communicators" of the Piper case, if Mlle. Smith expects us to believe in spirits, and it is their absolute failure to satisfy this demand that justifies M. Flournoy's sceptical position. Had he treated telepathy, telekinesis and clairvoyance in the same spirit, no criticism whatever could have been directed against his conclusions. But his tolerance of these theories and the possible amenability of what may be called the Dandiran, the Vignier, and the Burnier incidents to a supernormal explanation, as the author apparently squints toward that possibility owing to the conjectural character of the evidence against it, might suggest to the spiritist the following hypothesis. Taking what we know of secondary personality and its various forms, we might assume it to be, as ordinarily known, only a transitional state to the conditions which might bring the subject into communication with a transcendental world. But it would in all cases be most naturally accompanied, on this supposition, by all sorts of difficulties and confusions in the communications from that world, betraying various abilities and inabilities to communicate, and there might be conditions in which the whole impulse to represent the facts as "communications" from that source should come from a transcendental stimulus, while the representations of the facts should come wholly from the sub-

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ject's own mental action, and be distorted as secondary personality must inevitably distort its data. The whole of the modern theory of hallucination supports this view. Hallucinations are found to be due to what are called secondary stimuli—that is, stimuli that are not co-ordinated with the sense in which the hallucination appears, and so not representative of the world that causes them. In such a process, vestiges of spirit messages might slip through, and the conditions affecting the possibility of communication present so many difficulties that the attempt to deliver anything genuine might have to be given up. To illustrate from his own case; if Mlle. Smith's secondary personality can secure its stimulus, but not its representations, from her normal memory and experience, or convictions, it is quite conceivable that the same state should receive its stimulus, but not its representation of the facts, from the transcendental world, while a few veridical, though fragmentary, messages of the genuine sort might slip through in the fluctuation of the conditions embodied in the secondary state. The incidents that appear to be supernormal acquisitions of knowledge, in the absence of satisfactory proof that they are resurrected memories of Mlle. Smith's childhood, might be instances of this success, obtainable only on opportune occasions, while the conditions remain generally impervious to such communications. In this way, we might unify the supernormal aspects of M. Flournoy's case with those that show such remarkable characteristics of secondary personality.

I am, of course, very far from accepting any such view of the case. On the contrary, I think it wholly an instance of secondary personality, and that telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance should have received no tolerance in this book where the evidence for them is wholly wanting. But, if M. Flournoy thus accepts them, he must expect to meet trouble in his disposal of the Dandiran, Vignier, and Burnier incidents, with which he is evidently impressed, in spite of his reference of them to possible memories of his medium. So far as his evidence is concerned, these theories should have received less tolerance at his hands. It is his illusion about their being normal and natural that leads him into this course. Moreover, for a man who so heartily rejects the supernatural, his invocation of sympathy from the orthodox by a confession of faith, when he refuses to accept that criterion in spiritism but applies the most rigid criteria of scientific proof, is a

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contradiction as well as an exhibition of pious cant unworthy of a man who claims to respect science. The only hope of the religious consciousness, if it is to reconcile itself with science, is to be tolerant of spiritism rather than telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance, and to abandon the criterion of mere faith for that of scientific proof. Hence, having accepted the jurisdiction of a scientific court, the author should have bowed to its canons.

Not to press this criticism, however, the chief importance of the work lies in its tendency to stimulate investigation of a subject that has been too long neglected. Psychical research has a grim Nemesis and scepticism a Medusa head in the author's admission of telepathy, telekinesis, and clairvoyance, but this sin will not destroy the scientific merits of a work that offers our Philistines their only hope of minimizing the significance of the Piper phenomena.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

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RETROGRESSION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

BY FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

I HAVE not encountered the ghost of my great-grandmother, but something akin to it which has startled me no less. I have been face to face with the American woman of little more than half a century ago, who rose to greet me from the dusty pages of De Tocqueville's "Democracy," and who, by the light of contrast, has caused me to gasp with astonishment, beholding the degeneracy of her end-of-the-century descendant.

M. De Tocqueville, you will recall, came among us before the first woman's rights enthusiast had sounded her war-cry in the land. American woman's suffrage was not; co-education was not; the industry of woman was not in trades and the professions, but supplemented man's in the home. Also, when De Tocqueville came among us, it was soon after the "three days' revolution" in France. He was very alert to observe every operation of the principle of democracy as it might be applicable to the conditions of his own people. He believed that on the operation of that principle the happiness of his own country and the destinies of the civilized world depended. Thus it was with a great love of liberty and with jealous discernment of all that opposes its highest realization, that he "explained with a pencil of light" the successive steps and more important features of our development as a nation. A contemporaneous American critic of his production wrote: "He exhibits us in our present condition a new and, to Europeans, a strange people."

A strange people we are to ourselves, as we look backward to De Tocqueville's picture of us; and, compared with the American woman of De Tocqueville's time, the modern American woman is something more than strange. She has changed not alone with respect to outward form and manners, but in the whole under-

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lying principle of her development she has so far departed from the ideals then logically set forth as indispensable to the continued growth of our national greatness, that the American woman of to-day appears to be the fatal symptom of a mortally sick nation.

De Tocqueville thus expressed his fundamental notion of woman's political importance:

"No free communities ever existed without morals; and as I have observed, morals are the work of woman. Consequently, whatever affects the condition of women, their habits and their opinions, has great political importance in my eyes."

Fancy representing to the heralds of woman's suffrage that the political future of woman is in mere virtue, that the greatness of woman is to be good, without reference to being President or even to being a school trustee!

Adhering to his original point of view, De Tocqueville enters into a minute analysis of the American woman in the character and relation of wife, and supplies a standard measured by which the retrogression of the sex becomes so clearly apparent as to be all but reducible to an arithmetical equation.

"In the United States, the inexorable opinion of the public carefully circumscribes the married woman within the narrow circle of domestic interests and duties, and forbids her to step beyond it. I by no means suppose, however, that the great change which takes place in all the habits of women in the United States, as soon as they are married, ought solely to be attributed to the constraint of public opinion; it is frequently imposed upon themselves by the effort of their own will. When the time for choosing a husband is arrived, that cold and stern reasoning power which has been educated and invigorated by the free observation of the world, teaches an American woman that a spirit of levity and independence in the bonds of marriage is a constant subject of annoyance, not pleasure; it tells her that the amusements of the girl cannot become the recreation of the wife, and that the sources of a married woman's happiness are in the home of her husband. As she clearly discerns beforehand the only road which can lead to domestic happiness, she enters upon it at once and follows it to the end without seeking to turn back."

Side by side with this vision of wifely excellence known to De Tocqueville, and to my great-grandfather, I place the history of Oklahoma, South Dakota, Newport! So far from the modern American wife steadfastly pursuing the road to domestic happiness without ever turning back, divorce statistics have determined that the actual number of American women, during twenty years, who set out on the road to domestic happiness and did turn back, or were sent back, is 328,716. Of this number 67,685, or about

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one-fourth, turned back from causes involving immorality of woman, and in more than half the given instances of marriages dissolved for this cause, the law fixed the blame on the wife.

A danger De Tocqueville perceived to threaten men, in consequence of the virtue the young democracy imposed upon American women, has been unexpectedly averted:

"I am aware that the education of young women in America is not without its danger; I am sensible that it tends to invigorate the judgment at the expense of the imagination, and to make cold and virtuous women instead of affectionate wives and agreeable companions to man. Society may be more tranquil and better regulated, but domestic life has often fewer charms. These, however, are secondary evils which may be braved for the sake of higher interests."

Courageous philosopher! My poor, inevitably self-sacrificing great-grandfather! The eminent virtue of your American woman was inseparable from the perfection of a great republic; and for the discomfort it brought upon man, the latter would receive a reward—in heaven and pure politics! How is all this changed at the end of the century! What the effect upon "higher interests" is to be is a question that coming years will answer; but so far as austerity of virtue is concerned, the American wife to-day may put a man quite at his ease.

The stupendous stride this country has taken in the development of depravity since De Tocqueville held us up to the admiration of the world is forcibly suggested by a statement he makes concerning American literature and its treatment of women and morals:

"In America all books, novels not excepted, suppose women to be chaste, and no one thinks of relating affairs of gallantry."

From what, then, have you sprung, all you unnumbered hosts of American erotic writers, and all you scandal-monging daily papers of the United States? I know. Your morals and your manners are a disorder that American *nouveau riches* have contracted in travelling abroad—to Paris and other places; and, once in the blood, the disorder has been transmitted to posterity. When De Tocqueville wrote, Western gold mines were locked in the bosom of the earth; the great Chicago hog was unborn; American enterprise had not penetrated the wells of commercial cunning from which stock is freely watered; Americans were still hard at work making fortunes, and not at a loss how to employ them, and earnest toil rather compelled virtue than deferred the opportunity

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of vice—an opportunity we realize to-day along with our boasted prosperity.

That the economically ideal organization of the American family has been overthrown by the aggressive spirit of the "new" woman appears with amazing clearness, placing De Tocqueville's view of the equality of the sexes in the United States of the earlier time in contrast with the facts of to-day:

> "In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with the other, but in two pathways which are always different. American women never manage the outward concerns of the family or conduct a business or take a part in political life; nor are they, on the other hand, ever compelled to perform the rough labor of the fields, or to make any of those laborious exertions which demand the exhaustion of physical strength. No families are so poor as to form an exception to this rule."

Directly to the contrary to-day, over seventeen per cent. of the whole number of persons employed in all occupations are women. Furthermore, the United States Commissioner of Labor has found the number of women so employed to be constantly increasing, and that at the expense of men; the percentage of increase of women, in every given instance, showing a corresponding decrease of men. In this connection, still another suggestive fact appears in the statistics of the United States Department of Labor. In proportion as women advance in men's industries, and thus cause the retirement of men, the latter engage in domestic labor and personal service. The American woman competes with man, not alone to his disadvantage, but to his degradation.

Involved with this chaos in the industrial order, revolution with reference to sex constantly advances in the domain of American politics. We have woman's suffrage to some extent existing in a number of States and in several Territories of the United States, and absolutely unrestricted woman's suffrage in four States—making a total of almost three-fifths of the whole number of States in the Union which have in some way yielded political power to woman. Also we have the American woman clamoring for every office in the gift of the people, from President to police-court justice. Supporting and furthering this anomalous economic development of the American woman is a universal system of education, founded on a theory which assumes not alone equality of the sexes, but identity of rights and opportunity. In

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short, we have realized precisely the condition De Tocqueville describes as existing in the misguided minds of certain people in Europe, who, according to him, "confounding together the different characteristics of the sexes, would make of man and woman beings not only equal but alike. They would give to both the same functions, impose on both the same duties and grant to both the same rights; they would mix them in all things—their occupation, their pleasures, their business. It may readily be conceived that by thus attempting to make one sex equal to the other, both are degraded; and, from so preposterous a medley of the works of nature, nothing could ever result but weak men and disorderly women."

Further defining the admirable state of equality of the sexes originally prevailing in the United States, De Tocqueville says:

> "Nor have the Americans ever supposed that one consequence of democratic principles is the subversion of marital power, or the confusion of the natural authorities in families. They held that every association must have a head in order to accomplish its object, and that the natural head of the conjugal association is man."

Certainly, this picture of wifely submission would move modern American women to scorn and their husbands to hollow mirth. Common experience anywhere in the United States to-day proves its absurdity as applied to the existing family order, and I have found, in a recent labor report of the State of Massachusetts, token of the anarchy and confusion involving "natural authorities" of the American family that is both formal and formidable.

The Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts—Massachusetts, the State which is the greatest pride of American civilization—presenting facts concerning the earnings of heads of families, officially publishes a category of "husbands of heads of families." In this analysis of the situation there are recorded in Massachusetts eighty-five "husbands of heads of families."

Concluding his view of the happy organization of the family in America, De Tocqueville says: "I never observed that the women of America consider themselves degraded by submitting to conjugal authority. It appeared to me, on the contrary, that they attach a sort of pride to the voluntary surrender of their own will, and make it their boast to bend themselves to the yoke, not to shake it off. Such, at least, is the feeling expressed by the most virtuous of their sex."

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Remembering what De Tocqueville conceived to be woman's contribution to political greatness—the morals of a country—and bearing in mind that the greatest moral force proceeds from self-immolation, the logical success of the old-fashioned American woman must be admitted.

"As for myself," says De Tocqueville, "I do not hesitate to avow that although the women of the United States are confined within the narrow circle of domestic life, and their situation is in some respects of extreme dependence, I have nowhere seen women occupying a loftier position, and if I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply—to the superiority of their women."

Considering the new form of superiority of the American woman at the end of the century—a superiority which is greater than all the domestic virtues, a superiority that boasts of feminine independence, a superiority that immortalizes woman and demoralizes man; considering this modern superiority of the American woman, one looks curiously to the future and asks, What of its effect upon our national character and standing?

FLORA MCDONALD THOMPSON.

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MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY OSKAR MANN.

On the day of intercession for missions in the year 1873, Professor Max Müller advanced the theory that the six great religions of the world are divisible into missionary and non-missionary religions. Under the first head he places Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism; while Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism belong to the latter class. He adds that the characteristic feature of missionary religions is that in these "the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty by the founder. * * * It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest, unless it manifests itself in thought, word, and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all members of the human family."

It is from the zeal for propagation in a religion that we are able to judge of its vitality. If, for example, we wish to gain a clear idea of the vitality of Christianity, we must not direct our attention toward the intellectual centres of Christian countries, where materialism and hypercriticism often obscure the image of eternal religion, where indifference and scepticism seem to threaten the very existence of the faith, but we must look at the missionary work, in which, with youthful enthusiasm and sacred zeal, not the least valuable elements of the nations are active in the propagation of the faith, often at the sacrifice of their own lives.

The same is true also of Mohammedanism, in connection with which a striking activity in the spreading of its teaching is displayed. This fact is not sufficiently recognized, and it may,

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therefore, be of general interest to give some information as to the present condition of Mohammedanism, the number of its adherents, and the manner of its propagation. From the facts and figures adduced below, we shall be enabled, at the same time, to form an opinion as to whether Pan-Islamism constitutes a danger to Oriental civilization, as is asserted by some authorities on Eastern matters. Furthermore, the approaching close of the century presents a fitting occasion for a retrospective glance at the religious and intellectual movements of the past hundred years. In the nineteenth century especially, technical knowledge has made vast progress, and the ever increasing energies at work in the life of civilized races naturally sought before long to bring other spheres under their influence. It was in the nineteenth century that modern civilization first came actually face to face with Mohammedanism, which forms, as it were, a barrier between Western culture and non-civilized peoples. Step by step, the influences of the West encroach upon the borders of the Mohammedan world, not, of course, without producing certain reactions. So it is that, in the nineteenth century, after a long interval, Mohammedanism again manifests expansive activity, and in a manner, indeed, which evokes our admiration.

I will begin by giving, by means of figures, an idea of the present condition of Mohammedanism in the different continents, compared with its proportions about one hundred years ago.*

The status of Islam in America may be dismissed very briefly. On the whole continent of North and South America there live only about 49,500 Mohammedans, there being 20,500 in North and Central America, inclusive of the West Indies; the other 29,000 are in South America, where the British colony of Guiana alone contains 21,000 Mohammedans. These are exclusively workmen, the coolies imported from India and China. There is here as little question of the progress of Mohammedanism as of its retrogression; conversions to Islamism do not take place at all, as the coolies live apart, and scarcely come into contact with Americans. They, moreover, generally return home when they

*For the years 1890-1897, especially good and critically sound materials are afforded by the excellent work of Dr. Jansen, "The Propagation of Mohammedanism." ("Die Verbreitung des Islams," 1897.) But it is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to obtain reliable figures for earlier periods. Here their want must be supplied by a survey of the spread of Mohammedanism from a geographical point of view, as, for example, in the case of Africa.

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have effected an improvement in their material position, and are replaced by other immigrants, who form hopes of large earnings in the foreign land. That the majority of these Mohammedans live in British Guiana is naturally accounted for by the relative facilities for the transport of coolies thither from British India.

Mohammedanism has as yet penetrated very little into Australia, although the insular connection of that continent with the Malay Archipelago, where Mohammedans predominate, will doubtless soon produce a more active propaganda of Mohammedanism there. We have to record in Australia, inclusive of Oceania, about 19,500 adherents of Islam, who chiefly consist, as in America, of Indian and Chinese merchants and coolies.

In the Middle Ages, Mohammedanism, as is well known, had overrun a large portion of Southern Europe—Spain, Sicily, Southern Italy, and the whole Balkan peninsula, speaking in the widest sense of the term; at the beginning of modern times, it was geographically confined to that peninsula, exclusive of the Tartar tribes inhabiting Russia, in number rather more than six millions, who remained behind after the great Mongolian invasions. At the present day the Balkan peninsula contains about 15,700,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,350,000 are Mohammedans, most of them living in Turkish territory.

But in Turkey itself a constant retrogression of Mohammedanism is to be observed. Here the religion of the Prophet encounters Christianity, and frequently succumbs, since the latter is usually accompanied by the superiority of Western culture. That this was not always the case is shown by the very interesting history of Mohammedan propaganda among the Christians of the Balkan peninsula, in Albania, Servia and Bosnia, where, especially in the seventeenth century, in consequence of the negligence and apathy of the Christian clergy, Mohammedanism made surprising progress. Information on this matter may be found in the capital work by T. W. Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam."

The Society of English Mohammedans, founded in Liverpool by Mr. Quilliam, a description of which is given by John J. Pool ("Studies in Mohammedanism"), has attained the large number of two hundred members in the fifteen years of its existence. This absolutely isolated phenomenon cannot be seriously counted among the successes of Mohammedanism.

On the other hand, great progress has been made by Moham-

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medanism in this century in Asia and Africa, its ancient homes; less through the power of the sword, than by means of untiring missionary work. It is a fact that, especially in Africa, this kind of peaceful progress is more often the result of a "jihad," or religious war; but, in spite of this, it must not be forgotten that the real instrument of Mohammedan propaganda is no longer the sword, as in the first centuries of Islamism, but the teaching of the priests who succeed the soldiers, and who impart the faith to the masses of the people.

Almost the whole of the modern progressive movement of Mohammedanism in this century may be traced, directly or indirectly, to a puritanical sect, the so-called Wahhabis, whose founder, Abd-al-Wahhab, appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century in the province of Nejd, in the interior of Arabia, as the reformer of a then very corrupt Mohammedanism. Before long he and his successors had such a powerful following among the nomad tribes of Arabia, that in the year 1803 they even gained possession of the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, and only about ten years ago was the Turkish Government able to put an end to their political power. Like the Reformation of Luther in Germany, this movement was originally directed only against the abuse of the veneration of saints, against religious superstition, and increasing luxury in worship, and therefore it aimed merely at a spiritual revival; it has, however, particularly since the destruction of its political importance, assisted a great deal in the exterior propagation of Mohammedanism. As little now could be effected by means of the sword for the renewal of the faith, so much the more fervently did its adherents labor as religious teachers within the sacred mosque itself.

On the occasion of the pilgrimage to Mecca, obligatory for all believers in the Koran, a certain Saiyid Ahmad, formerly a freebooter and bandit in India, became acquainted with the teaching of the Wahhabis; and, on his return home to India about 1820, with true Mohammedan fanaticism, he made it his lifework to spread the new doctrine—that is, to say, pure Islamism.

In the year 1826 he preached a jihad against the Sikhs. In spite of great successes at first over the Sikhs and the Afghans, who also opposed him, he was finally defeated and put to death. The continuous progress of Mohammedanism in Hindostan is chiefly to be ascribed to his followers, who for a long time made

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the Indian city of Patna their headquarters. By careful calculations, based on the absolutely reliable publications of the Indian Government on the "Census of India," the following increase in Mohammedanism is to be recorded in different parts of the Empire, in the period 1881-1891—in the Madras Presidency, an increase from 1,933,571 to 2,250,386 persons; in the Bombay Presidency, an advance of nearly fourteen per cent. of the population; in Assam, an increase of nearly thirteen per cent.; in the Punjab, of ten per cent.; in Bengal and the Northwest Provinces, of from seven to eight per cent. The whole of British India, inclusive of the tributary states, contained, in the year 1881, 250,150,050 inhabitants, of whom 49,952,704 were Mohammedans; and in the year 1891, 280,062,080 inhabitants, of whom 57,061,796 were Mohammedans.

The striking increase among the Mohammedans beyond the natural growth of population represents, according to Dr. Jansen's calculations, 0.406 per cent. for this period of ten years. From this it may further be calculated (as has been done by C. Y. O'Donnell, one of the English census officials) that, in about five hundred years, the whole of India will be an entirely Mohammedan country. This tremendous progress, in which, besides the above-mentioned Wahhabis, some other sects take an active part, notably the Faraizis ("followers of the divine precepts"), closely resembling the Wahhabis from a dogmatic point of view, is entirely the work of a peaceful proselytization. How much may be accomplished by these means is also shown by three million conversions to Mohammedanism, mentioned by the French writer De Lanessan for a period of ten years (about 1870-80).

It is easy to explain the fact that India, the land of strict caste, should be a fruitful soil for the intensely democratic religion of Islam. The most numerous are naturally the conversions of people of the lower castes. On this subject let us consult one of the best judges of the religious condition of India, T. W. Arnold, who says:

"The insults and contempts heaped upon the lower castes of Hindus by their co-religionists, and the impassable obstacles placed in the way of any member of these castes desiring to better his condition, show up in striking contrast the benefits of a religious system which has no outcasts, and gives free scope for the indulgence of any ambition. * * * The tyranny of caste tolerance is very oppressive. To give but one instance. In Travancore (West coast of India), certain of

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the lower castes may not come nearer than seventy-four paces to a Brahmin, and have to make a grunting noise as they pass along the road, in order to give warning of their approach."*

We shall speak of these points again in another connection.

Proportionately great has been the increase of Mohammedanism in Burmah, where from 1881 to 1891, the number of Mohammedans increased from 168,881 to 210,049, representing nearly twenty-five per cent. of the population.

In the Malay Archipelago, also, the movement started by the Wahhabis in this century produced both an inward revival and an outward increase of Mohammedanism. The progress of the faith is there all the greater because the natives regard it as an opposition to the encroaching Occidental influences. The number of Mohammedans in the entire Malay Archipelago is reckoned at 31,042,000 out of 44,627,000 inhabitants. In the Chinese Empire, again, Islamism has made steady progress in this century. The number of resident Mohammedans (according to the estimate given in "The Statesman's Year-Book") was computed at 30,000,000 in 1882, while in 1897 the figures are put at 32,000,000, which is considerably more than the proportional increase. One of the best judges of China, M. Vassilief, depicts the constant progress of Mohammedanism in the year 1866 in the following words: "Having entered the Celestial Empire by the same paths as Buddhism, Islamism will gradually succeed, as is not doubted by Chinese Mussulmans, in taking the place of the doctrine of Sakya-Muni."

In other Mohammedan parts of Asia, such as Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, etc., no progress of Mohammedanism is to be observed other than the natural increase in population, and this is quite natural in a country, like Persia for example, in which there are only a very small number of non-Mohammedans. In Russian Turkestan alone a slight decrease of Mohammedanism is to be noticed, which may chiefly be ascribed to the systematic Russification of those districts.

Mohammedanism is, however, making a triumphal progress at the present day through the "Dark Continent." It will be interesting to note some of the chief movements of Islamism, especially in West Africa. Almost all these movements may be traced to Wahhabite influence, whether it be that their moving spirit has

*Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam," page 220.

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come into contact with the teaching of these Puritans, or that newly founded orders have embraced Wahhabite doctrines in a new form, and preach these fanatically to the heathen.

In the first half of our century was founded the Mohammedan Fulah kingdom, in the neighborhood of the Gambia River, by Danfodio, which led to a great spread of Mohammedanism. Danfodio, himself a Fulah negro, had learnt the Wahhabite doctrines on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and he preached the "pure faith" in his native land on his return. He succeeded, by means of his personal influence, first in converting the scattered Fulah tribes to his teaching, and next in uniting them in a powerful kingdom under his dominion. Above all, he understood how to rouse the religious zeal of his subjects, so that the Fulahs henceforth belonged to the most active among the Mahommedan missionaries. So, also, the founding of the city of Sokoto, now the centre of a flourishing Mohammedan kingdom, in a district still almost entirely heathen at the beginning of the century, was the work of Danfodio. So, again, in 1837, Adamana was founded by the Fulahs on the ruins of several heathen kingdoms. The Fulahs bore the victorious banner of Islam westward as far as the ocean; and, at the present day, four powerful Mohammedan kingdoms in Senegambia and the Soudan still bear witness to the missionary zeal of Danfodio. What the warlike Danfodio had outwardly subjugated, was inwardly established by the priests, merchants and teachers; they taught the newly-won heathen to love and reverence the Mohammedan faith as a higher state of well-being.

Even in districts where Christian missions seem to have gained a firm footing, Mohammedanism obtains an increasing number of followers. Thus, in the beginning of the year 1870, Islamism was entirely unknown in Sierra Leone and Lagos, the two chief English settlements, while now about a third of the entire population profess the religion of Mohammedanism.

The chief share in these almost unexampled missionary successes is due to individual religious associations, or brotherhoods, which aim in their rules at the propagation of Mohammedanism as well as at the inward purification of the religious life of the faithful. In the western part of North Africa, especial activity is shown by the Kadriyah, who had established themselves as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century in Timbuktu, but

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who were first stirred to the zealous propagation of Mohammedanism by the movement which originated with the Wahhabis and was supported by Danfodio. Their missionary work bears an entirely peaceful character; it is founded merely upon personal example and good teaching, upon the natural influence of the teacher over the pupil and upon the spreading of higher civilization.

Another religious order, the Tijaniyah, which also, on the whole, shows Wahhabite tendencies, engaged in the spreading of Mohammedanism with the sword in the fifties, under the leadership of a negro named Umaru'l-Haji, particularly in the region of the Upper Niger and Senegal. But the real inward conversion only took place when, laying aside their swords, the victors began to be teachers of the subjugated heathen in the truest sense of the word; and, according to travelers' reports, this peaceful work is being carried on without interruption at the present day.

About the middle of this century, a still later order, the Senussis, of Algerian origin, penetrated into Northern Africa, and, notwithstanding their short existence, can boast of remarkable success. For example, the whole tribe of the Baele, settled on the east of Borku, have been won to the faith of Islam through the labors of the Senussis, while members of this brotherhood may be met with throughout Africa, and even far beyond the limits of the continent.

In order to give some idea of the immense spread of Mohammedanism in these regions, it suffices to mention that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the exception of Timbuktu, there was scarcely a Mohammedan settlement in the region of the Niger, while in the year 1897 from forty to fifty per cent. of the entire population were Mohammedans; and at the present day the Mohammedan sphere of influence reaches as far as the northern frontier of the French Congo State.

Approximately, the southern limit of Mohammedanism in 1800 may be taken at twelve degrees North, while this limit has now advanced to about eight degrees North. As regards space, the spread of Mohammedanism in the course of the nineteenth century has not been so large in the interior of Africa as in the western regions; but the absolute Mohammedanizing of the kingdoms of Kanem, Bagirmi and Wadai is principally the work of this century. South of these three powerful kingdoms, we find

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a large number of heathen negro tribes which afford the potentates of Wadai and Bagirmi welcome material for their slave raids.

In the eastern Soudan, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the conversion of the heathen to Mohammedanism had made but little progress, until, in the year 1835, a certain Muhammed Uthmanu'l-Amir Ghani entered these regions with the object of spreading the faith of Islam. He had come from Mecca, and after crossing the Red Sea had arrived at Dongola. From this point his journey was simply a triumphal progress. Everywhere the Nubians flocked to him as followers, and the regal pomp of his appearance made a powerful impression on the people, the report of his miracles also procuring him crowds of adherents. In Kordofan, where he remained for a considerable time, his missionary work among the heathen began. Many heathen tribes still inhabited this neighborhood and that of Sennaar, and among these Muhammed Uthman gained great successes through his preaching. It was at this time that Muhammed Ali, the founder of the present Egyptian dynasty, was endeavoring to gain possession of the Eastern Soudan, and the Egyptian troops supported the peaceable missionary labors of the active brotherhoods with all the more energy, because by their means they hoped for a speedy pacification of the new regions. But the religious zeal once aroused in this manner was later to become dangerous to Egyptian rule. It is well known that, after a persistent agitation had shown itself for some time among the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Egyptian Soudan, suddenly in the year 1881 a hitherto obscure fakir, Muhammed Ahmed, who had been leading the life of an ascetic on the island of Aba in the White Nile (13° 30′ N.), proclaimed himself as the expected last Prophet, the Mahdi ("the one guided by Allah"), who was chosen to purify Islamism from corruptions, and spread its dominion over the whole world. Muhammed Ahmed was a Nubian from the province of Dongola. In his youth he worked at the trade of boat's carpenter near Sennaar. But he soon forsook his trade, attended a school in the neighborhood of Khartoum, and, after being initiated into the mysteries of the alphabet and the knowledge of the Koran, he established himself as an ascetic (fakir) on the White Nile, and had soon earned a reputation for great sanctity. It would take too long to give a detailed description

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here of the tremendous successes attained by this dauntless man with unexampled rapidity. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the English and Egyptian troops, they could not succeed in checking the rising, and on January 26th, 1885, the Mahdi's predatory troops penetrated into the long besieged city of Khartoum, where a terrible slaughter began. The heroic defender of the city, Gordon Pasha, here met his death. Only last year, in 1899, have the English troops succeeded in defeating the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of the since deceased Mahdi, at the battle of Omdurman, and subsequently the news reached Europe from the Soudan that the Khalifa's army had been annihilated in another battle, and that Abdullah was among the slain. Thus at last has the death of the universally lamented Gordon been avenged, and the Mahdist movement finally quelled, as is hoped. Mighty as were the political disorders brought about by the rising of the Mahdi in the Eastern Soudan, the progress of Mohammedanism here has been but small. Mahdism has scarcely spread southwards beyond the old limit of the faith. The principal reason for this will probably be found in the fact that the perpetual wars of the Mahdi and his followers scarcely allowed of time for active propaganda, and the blood-thirsty character of the whole movement was not qualified for peaceful progress. It is true that we possess no unprejudiced testimony on the condition of Mohammedanism in those regions, as for the last twenty years the Soudan has been absolutely closed to all Europeans.

Still further eastwards, on the coast of the Indian Ocean, we come upon old Mohammedan territory—the Galla, Somalis, Zanzibaris, etc. In striking contrast to the religious fervor displayed in the Mohammedanizing of West Africa, here there is scarcely any progress to be noted. Only among the inhabitants of Bondei and the Wadigo in German East Africa is an advance in Islamism reported. Notwithstanding, in the East the southern limit of Mohammedanism lies about fifteen degrees south. The cause of the want of progress of the Arabian religion may probably be found in the greater indolence of the East African negro tribes. It must also be remembered that this is the region in which the Arabs used to make their slave raids by preference, a circumstance which, as was seen above, has probably hindered the advance of Mohammedanism in the negro regions south of Wadai.

In round numbers, at the present day, the Dark Continent

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contains 80 millions of Mohammedans to about 200 millions of inhabitants. "It is hardly too much to say that one-half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while, of the remaining half, one-quarter is leavened and another threatened by it."

These numbers speak for themselves. Mohammedanism is on the way to a total conquest of the Dark Continent. What a tremendous advance in civilization Mohammedanism brings to the negro! Let us hear the eloquent description of R. Bosworth Smith, one of the best judges of the African races*:

"The worst evils which prevailed at one time over the whole of Africa, and which are still to be found in many parts of it, and those, too, not far from the Gold Coast and from the English settlements,—cannibalism and human sacrifice and the burial of living infants,—disappear at once and forever. Natives who have hitherto lived in a state of nakedness, or nearly so, begin to dress, and that neatly; natives who have never washed before begin to wash, and that frequently, for ablutions are commanded in the Sacred Law, and it is an ordinance which does not involve too severe a strain on their natural instincts. The tribal organization tends to give place to something which has a wider basis. In other words, tribes coalesce into nations, and, with the increase of energy and intelligence, nations into empires. Many such instances could be adduced from the history of the Soudan and the adjoining countries during the last hundred years. Elementary schools like those described by Mungo Park a century ago spring up, and even if they only teach their scholars to recite the Koran, they are worth something in themselves, and may be a step to much more. The well-built and neatly-kept mosque, with its call to prayer repeated five times a day * * * becomes the centre of the village, instead of the ghastly fetish or Juju house. The worship of one God, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and compassionate, is an immeasurable advance upon anything which the native has been taught to worship before. The Arabic language, in which the Mussulman scriptures are always written, is a language of extraordinary copiousness and beauty; once learned, it becomes a lingua franca to the tribes of half the continent. * * * Manufactures and commerce spring up, not the mute trading or the elementary bartering of raw products which we know from Herodotus to have existed from the earliest times in Africa, nor the cowrie shells, or gunpowder, or tobacco, or rum, but manufactures involving considerable skill, and a commerce which is elaborately organized. * * * As regards the individual, it is admitted on all hands that Islam gives to its new negro converts an energy, a dignity, a self-reliance, and a self-respect which is all too rarely found in their Pagan or their Christian fellow-countrymen."

And, if we inquire the manner in which Mohammedanism attains its almost unexampled successes, we are amazed at the

*"The Nineteenth Century," p. 798, seq.

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simplicity of its methods. The propaganda takes place without attracting the attention of the world. Islam does not send forth its missionaries into heathen lands, like Christianity, with the prescribed task of inducing the largest number possible to embrace their own faith. The emissaries of Mohammedanism are the travelers, the merchants, who, while engaged in lucrative commercial transactions, implant their civilization and their faith. From the first, the population mistrusts the missionaries sent *ad hoc* into their midst. They cannot comprehend the object of the coming of the stranger; the people have no confidence in him, and therefore oppose his undertakings. It is otherwise with the Mohammedan merchant; he does not seek to impose his religion upon the people, but wisely waits until they come to him to beg for enlightenment, for it is with nations as with children: what is given them they despise, while they eagerly desire what is apparently withheld from them.

At the same time, the *soi-disant* Mohammedan missionaries display far greater tact in the choice of their methods, as they manage to vary these according to the peculiarities of the nations with whom they have to deal. They bring civilization to the African savages. They found cities and populate them with Mohammedan colonists, whom they transport from other districts; so, for instance, they took advantage of the great famine which threatened to depopulate the land of the Wanyikas on the Zanzibar coast, to display Islamism as the religion of love and beneficent actions. They also occasionally win new followers to their faith by liberating them from the bonds of slavery. Thus, the founder of the Senussi order once purchased a whole caravan of slaves, chiefly natives of Wadai, and had them instructed individually in the faith of Islam. He then gave them their freedom and sent them back to their own country. These converts naturally gained crowds of new followers to the faith.

On the whole, Mohammedanism shows a marvelous adaptability. Where Mohammedans find an ancient civilization, as, for example, in China, they avoid either wounding or provoking those of a different belief, and manage to adapt religious ordinances to old customs; they include the old feasts in their calendar, and take an active share in all the doings of their fellow-citizens of a different faith. Their tact is also shown by small concessions in external arrangements. In China, for instance, they are

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careful not to build their mosques higher than the other temples, and therefore the mosques are not adorned with minarets in that country. By the power of their eloquence their preachers have brought it to pass that in China, even in Government circles, Mohammedanism is regarded as uniting the best points of Confucianism and Buddhism. One of their chief methods of propaganda is the school, as has been remarked above. Here they educate future generations in their own views.

The main reason for the great successes of Mohammedanism, especially among the uncivilized heathen of Africa, consists in the great simplicity of the religion in question. "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God." The convert need only believe these two sentences, and he is at once a Mussulman. After learning this simple confession of faith, he then needs only to fulfil the following five practical duties: (1.) Recital of the Creed; (2.) Observance of the five appointed times of prayer; (3.) Payment of the legal alms; (4.) Fasting during the month of Ramadhan; and (5.) The pilgrimage to Mecca.

And every convert has equal rights with all other members of the great community. In regard to the faith there are no distinctions; for did not even the Nubian, Muhammed Ahmed, rise to be the Mahdi, the Messiah of the Mohammedans?

But not only externally, in the number of the faithful and in the magnitude of the territory under its influence, has Mohammedanism considerably increased, but it has undergone a kind of regenerating process in its inner life, at least in certain important localities, which promises to supply it with new strength for the struggles of the coming century.

Mention has been made already of the strong influence produced by the reformatory movement of the Wahhabis upon the inner life of Mohammedanism. Almost innumerable are the recently founded brotherhoods at work in Mohammedan territory in the Wahhabite tradition, either by the power of word, example, or by the might of the sword, or even by the union of both, as shown by the example of the powerful Danfodio. And when anywhere, from whatever reasons, an insurrection takes place against the authority of the state, the movement always arises from ideas of reform, generally from a puritanical point of view. If the leaders of these movements have no such motives, and should they only be striving for personal power, they still cloak their am-

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bitious ends with the pretext of holy zeal for the faith, as was done by the adventurer Rabah, the all-powerful ruler of Wadai from 1890 till his death in 1897. The reformer who preaches against luxury and externality of belief is always sure of gaining a hold on the masses. But that these reformatory ideas, which are springing up on every hand on Mohammedan territory, should really *produce* a revival of the religious life, is shown again by the increase of the many religious orders, which can be statistically proved.

Even among the usually skeptical Persians a movement full of true religious enthusiasm, the so-called Babism, has gained a large number of devoted followers. The tenets of Bab, the founder of this sect, who died as a martyr for his creed in the year 1850, are closely akin to the doctrines of Christianity. "All men are our brothers, therefore let us do good to all, as the sun shines upon good and evil alike." Only such an intensifying of the Mohammedan creed could have the effect of raising the inwardly degenerate Persians to the rank among the Mussulmans which is due to their exceptional mental gifts.

That which holy enthusiasm for religion is striving to effect from within, is being brought into the life of Islamism from without. It was mentioned at the beginning of this article that the encounter between Mohammedanism and Western civilization could not fail to produce an effect upon the former. But the powers that had slumbered in Mohammedanism for so many years did not come to life merely in the form of a conscious reaction against foreign ideas. The many advantages of modern culture, the technical knowledge of our century, were too apparent to be denied by the more reasonable of the Mohammedans. They began to realize that, if they desired to oppose the West, it could only be done with the help of the weapons of Western civilization; that they must learn from the Frengis, the Europeans. One of the most enlightened Mussulmans of our century, Muhammed Ali, the founder of modern Egypt, deserves to be especially mentioned here. As Danfodio and the Mahdi strove to spread the holy faith with fire and sword, so Muhammed Ali's reformatory activity in Egypt is of lasting value to the further development of enlightened Mohammedanism. These three men may indeed be taken as typical specimens of the different forms of activity shown by Islamism in the nineteenth century. Muham-

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med Ali came to Egypt as a simple Turkish captain, and by means of his remarkable gifts, his mental superiority, and utterly untiring energy, often indeed united with barbarity, he contrived in a few years to make himself master of the country, and finally to shake off the intolerable yoke of Turkey. He had learnt to value the advantages of Western culture; and everywhere, in his government, in the organization of the army, in the care for commerce, in sanitary provisions, in the administration of justice, we see him earnest in introducing European ideas. It was he who, rightly appreciating the influence of the press on the people, started an Egyptian newspaper, the first in the Mohammedan Orient (1828). The recognition of the utility of European civilization has slowly but surely made its way, and it is worthy of notice that in most cases the Mussulman becomes no mere outward imitator of the Frengi, but manages to preserve his individuality, even while he takes the good as he finds it.

We see that there is a fermentation going on in Islam from one end to the other. Externally, as well as internally, Mohammedanism has made immense progress during the past century; we see how, perhaps with a presentiment of a conflict near at hand, it seeks to become acquainted with the benefits of modern culture; we see how in Africa mighty regions become tributary to it. It is possible that if, in the coming century, some gifted man succeeds in inspiring these tremendous masses of Mohammedans with *one* aim, we shall have a hard battle to fight. Let us hope that Western civilization and European politics will succeed in leading the powers active in Islam into peaceful paths, and fit them to take part in the one great aim of humanity—the spread of true civilization.

OSKAR MANN.

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